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ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION

(k) General.

Government interference with SWADESHI temperance work

1. The BHARATA, of the 24th April, writes as follows:--"If there could be one sure means by which the local officers of the Government could do an injustice to the Government and cover it with discredit, it is by their opposing the temperance movement in India. If they could by any means confirm the popular suspicion that the Government is not guided by moral and humane considerations but by selfish and pecuniary considerations, it is certainly by their opposing the temperance movement in India. If the imprudent and unjustifiable conduct of certain local officers in opposing SWADESHISM could be brought into bold relief, it is certainly by their unjust interference with the temperance movement in India. When SWADESHI workers showed enthusiasm in persuading their countrymen to boycott foreign goods, Government officers interfered and their action was tried to be justified by the promotors of SWADESHI companies canvassed successfully against foreign companies and spoke against the unpatriotic action of natives supporting foreign companies, some indiscretion, real or supposed, on the part of the canvassers was availed is tantamount to creating and spreading race antipathy. But how on earth can the prosecution and persecution of the patriotic sons of India who are engaged in a holy crusade against the Demon of drink be tried to be justified by local Government officers in the eyes of the civilized world and in the eye of the moral Governor of the world. At Poona the Government officers are committing a political blunder in trying to prevent the temperance movement which is being so disinterestedly and so successfully carried out in that worthy city. When gentlemen like Dr.Bhandarkar, Mr.Gokhale and Rev. Mr.MocNicoll join in condemning the spirit of Government action in this respect, it is time that the head of the Government should become wide awake and take proper steps to rectify matters

Security proceedings taken against some pleaders of Tuticorin xxxxxx

2. The following appears in the editorial notes column of the WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 29th April:--"The security proceedings taken against some half a dozen pleaders of Tuticorin came to a close all of a sudden last week, we must say to the surprise, though agreeable, of the Indian community. It would have been more agreeable still if the case had been withdrawn at a much earlier stage and it would have been a decidedly more statesmanlike way of owning a mistake. But the erroneous notion of prestige, which is in no small way responsible for the growing difficulties of administration evidently stood in the way. It is impossible for the Government to conceal from themselves the fact that the ill-advised step has created a strong feeling among the thoughtful section of the population and if possible has aggravated the 'unrest'. The security sections of the Penal Code, we believe, are provided for the purpose of preventing the ignorant and rowdy sections of the community from molesting law-abiding people; and they were never instituted for the purpose of humiliating respectable citizens. Apparently these six lawyers are the tall, poppies of Tuticorin and to take security proceedings against them was the only way of humiliating them. In any event such a conduct in responsible authorities deserves severe notice by the Government. We do not know how far the open trial to which the lawyers were subjected has brought them any 'indignity' and Mr.Cox, who discharged the accused, felt constrained to remark that the 'cattle-shippers now state that they were or were not persuaded, as the case may be, only by the terms offered', and he proceeded to state that 'there is not sufficient evidence that these men were at the beck and call of the vakils there.' It is apparent that the sources of information ~~and and~~ the officials must have been, to say the least, extremely vitiated. There has been nothing to show that the leaders of the SWADESHI Company acted in any but the most lawful and honourable of ways, in spite of the panic that prevails in Tuticorin and Tinnevelly which is

highly congenial for the manufacture of false evidence. There is more to be gained by seeking the co-operation of the wisest and the best among those with whom they may come kinto contact in native circles, than by provoking them into displaying hostile feelings. The moral that can be drawn from this case does not happily bear a general application in this presidency; otherwise the need for trying the experiment of the separation of judicial from executive functions here in Madras, instead of in the two Bengals, would have been much more urgent."

Advisory Council

3. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 30th April, contains the following leader:--". . . . the Government proposes to create an Advisory Council ofonly sixty members. The Congress is many hundreds strong. Between the two, between the things proposed and the thing that exists, there is a great difference. But the Congress can easily evolve out of it a small body to serve as an Advisory Council. Such a body will be able to voice independent Indian opinion and command general confidence throughout the country. Cannot the Congress be left to select sixty or more members from among its delegates to act as an Advisory Council to the Government? Will not such a body be more satisfactory in every way than a body of men appointed by Government from among classes which do not enjoy the general confidence of the country? To us the idea seems unexceptionable; and it is surely practical. It will at once bring the large body of educated classes into close association with the Government; and every congressman will deem it an honour to be elected to such a body by the votes of his brother delegates. The body may change from time to time ; but the change will be effected by the Congress itself. The Congress, when so recognised, will draw into it those classes of people who now keep aloof from it as a matter of prudence or expediency, and a great sobering and steadying influence will thereby be brought to bear on the activities and deliberations of the Congress. That will be a real 'step in advance' in the

matter of constitutional reform; and there is no other difficulty than that of having to take a step which has not hitherto been thought of by the rulers of India. The principle of seeking advice from the genuine representatives of the people is ac-acknowledged in the scheme of Advisory Councils. How best that principle can be given effect to is the only question to consider. And if the Congress affords a foundation to go after shadowy representatives of the people such as the Government of India have pictured. It cannot be pretended that the people selected under the proposed schemex xItxxxxxxxkxx will be more representative or will command greater public confidence than members of the Congress, it will be easy onthe same plan to create Provincial and District Advisory Councils, so that all the thinking and articulate sections of the Indian community will be represented in these Councils."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

"Is it punishmen or reward"

7. Commenting upon Mr.Stephen's case, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 24th April, observes:--"Mr. Stephen, a Judicial officer at Gujaramvala in the Punjab, was charged with bribery and awarded a light punishment. Seeing that Europeans, when accused, generally escape with light punishments on account of partiality shown to them by judges, while p our countrymen are awarded xxxx horrible punishments, any person who has any sense of justice in him cannot but detest the administrative policy of this foreign despotic Government."

The Tinnevelly sedition case

8. The NADEGANNADI, of the 2nd May, observes that some very surprising facts have been brought to light during the examination of some European witnesses on behalf of the Crown in the Tinnevely

sediton case. It was discovered that the Europeans were obtaining the help of the authorities in trying to crush the enterprise of the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company, and great indignation prevails among the public in consequence. It is also found that a secret convention exists between the Railway authorities and the Foreign Steam Navigation Company that concession rates for good will be allowed on the Indian and Ceylon Railways in case the consignors give preference to the Foreign Steam Navigation Company during subsequent conveyance. Perhaps this gross injustice done to the SWADESHI Company by the combined effort of the Foreign Company and the Railway compnaies to crush indigenous enterprise had not come to the knowledge of the British Government. As the above facts were brought to light in the Tinnevelly sedition case, it remains to be seen what steps the authorities will now take in the matter.

The same paper, in another article, says that in the above case it was also discovered that the Assistant Commissioner of Salt and Abkari, instead of making entries in his diary concerning matters properly coming within his range of duty, such as the illicit manufacture of salt, etc., he was taking notes of facts such as the VANDE MATARAM cries in the town and SWADESHI lectures by some Bengali Babu. The Assistant Commissioner also confessed that he had been ordered to report such facts to his superiors. It is evident from the above that every European in this country has been asked to serve the Government as a spy; and it seems likely that every European whether official, merchant or missionary, thus acting as a spy of Government, will only create hatred between the rulers and the ruled. Will not such arrangements create further distrust and hatred against the Europeans?

(j) Salt and Abkari.

"Temperance movement at Poona and the Government"

13. Adverting to the action of the Government officials in connection with the temperance movement at Poona, the ANDHRAKESARI of the 24th April, observes:--"In reply to the letter of the Poona Temperance Association to the Collector he wrote that they must put a stop to the work of their volunteers and that it should be forbidden as it is illegal. Subsequently he issued an order under section 144, Indian Penal Code, that temperance volunteers must not hereafter assemble before liquor shops and prevent people from entering them. The volunteers who are out of righteousness and mercy, calmly preaching temperance principles to drunkards in order that they may give up evil practice, are denounced as obstructing the highway, while those who come out of liquor shops fully drunk and do many acts without being conscious of them, are not so regarded! It is considered criminal to be engaged in preaching calmly against intemperance, butit is not viewed as an offence ~~then~~ when Christian Missionaries openly vilify (the people) in front of temples and in the 'midst of holy waters As there is thus official interference given in matter of constitutional and ~~proper actions of the people even in the matter of constitutional and~~ proper actions of the people the lat ter cannot but think that the officials are sowing the seeds of hatred that help to ruin their own rule. We hope that not only Messrs. Gokhale and Tilak but also other people throughout the country will bring the holy task ~~of~~ to a successful issue, undaunted by the repressive measures of the selfishly blind bureaucratic Government. The habit of drinking ruins our national life and reduces us into living skeletons. Can the patriots keep quiet at this miserable condition?"

"The morality of seeling ~~liquor~~ liquor".

14. Referring to the temperance movement at Poona and the attitude of the Government officia towards its workers, the BHAVANI of the 24th April, observes:--"Educated men have resolved to put an end to the habit of drinking and are preaching about the

evil consequences thereof. It is viewed as a criminal offence to preach to the people against indulging in liquors. But it is considered an inoffensive course to entice passers-by to get into liquor shops to indulge in spirituous liquors by beat of drum. Consider the justice involved. What is done by the Government in this matter is considered just, while the efforts of the people to rectify themselves and try to procure enough of food are held to be mischievous and seditious. If the abkari revenue is increased, the officials will be much pleased."

The temperance movement in Poona.

15. Referring to certain picketting in connection with the temperance movement in Poona, the NADEGANNADI, of the 2nd May, says:--Is it proper that the Government should encourage the people to indulge in ruinous intoxicants? Is it not equally in the interests of Government that the people should be temperate? Originally the use of liquors was not known in this country. We gradually acquired this evil habit in trying to imitate the Westerns. It may also be ascertained from the history of Poona that before the Maharastra fell into the hands of the British, there were no arrack shops in the district of Poona. In every village, even though it is not provided with an elementary school an arrack shop there invariably is. In a meeting of nearly 10,000 leading citizens of Poona, it was resolved to send a protest to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay against the obstruction by the local authorities to the temperance movement in Poona. The result is anxiously awaited. But one thing we have always to remember, viz., that the British have come to this country only to amass wealth.

(k) General.

17. The DESABHIMANI, of the 1st April, writes in English:--

The separation of executive from judicial functions.

The long looked for administrative reform adumbrated by Mr.Morley now appears to be within a measurable distance of accomplishment. At the last meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, the legal members, expressed the views of the Government of India, regarding the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions in India, and formulated a scheme which is now submitted to the criticism of the Governmebt of the two Bengals, where it is proposed to introduce it terntatively, and also to the criticism of the public at large. After conceding this much, it is passing strange that the Government of India should have hesitated to effect a complete and final separation of the functions throughout India and chosen to make an experimental start only in the two provinces of Bengal. We cannot understand why it should not be extended to the Provinces of Bombay and Madras, which are equally advanced, and where the need is no less insistent, except it be on financial considerations which do not appear to be the reason. We are, however, thankful to Government for what they have now proposed to do in this direction, in the hope that at no distant date the reform will be extended to other provinces as well.

18. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th April, while commenting

The Tinnevelly deputation

on the reply of the Governor to the Tinnevelly deputation, remarks:--Whatever we do appears to be mischief and sedition in the eyes of the Government. This clearly shows that we can be in the good graces of the Government only if we applaud every one of its actions. But it is only shameless men and traitors to their country, whose sole aim is to fill their stomachs, that will act like this. Though there are even such men amongst us, their number, we are glad to see, is gradually decreasing.

20. The INDIA, of the 11th April, writes:--In replying to a question by Mr.O'Grady in the House of Commons as to whether the

"Sedition defined"

open assertion by the people of a country of their aims and aspirations will amount to sedition, Mr.Morley said: "The plain statements of the aspirations of a people will not amount to sedition, unless words are used which x tend to promote dislike or hatred between two classes of the public." Thus, for example it will not be sedition to preach as follows: "The people of the land of Bharata are in a slavish condition and the result of this is that that they have to lose their self-respect and suffer loss of wealth, incurable diseases, famine and other big disasters. So it is very necessary that they should gain their freedom," For, there is nothing in the above to promote hostility between the two classes. We hope the officials here will act upon the above definition of sedition by Mr.Morley. If, without following that principle, the authorities unnecessarily tease the popular leaders, it is only their own power and not the aspirations of the people that will come to grief.

21. The NAVAYUGA, of the 23rd April, writes of Mr.Morley, thus:--Have you run away to the House of Lords because you were

"O, philosopher Morley!"

unable to withstand the attacks of Messrs.Cotton and Rutherford who broke the armour of your philosophy to pieces? Have you entered the House of Lords to enjoy rest, not having received any blessing from even a single Indian, because ~~theyour theori~~ your theories became self-conflicting, your words meaningless, your principles useless, and your philosophy vain glorious, while your conscience and your politics militated against each other. There is no longer any ~~ness~~ necessity for dubious words; such as--'I have not yet received information. I believe that the officials on the spot would carry on the work well. Probably it is so carried on. I am not prepared to say anythin

now.' The Under Secretary will hereafter be discussing the ordinary questions in the House of Commons to while away his time. Perhaps you will be conducting the administration without having to give any answers? Well done! Well done! Really the time has come when you have to sever your connection with India. The time has come when body and soul may be laid at the feet of God. The time has come for the termination of your actions. Why do you still linger in this world? May Messrs. Gupta and Belgrami, who go from our country as members of your Council, teach you SANKARA'S philosophy--Man's life wavers much like water on a ~~lom~~ lotus-leaf' and show you way to salvation.

~~23. Adverting to the proposed "Creed" of the Congress convention, the KISTNAPAERIKA, of the 26th April, observes:--"The Khatriya kings of those days received a sixth part of the land-produce as taxes for their maintenance and not with a view to show their spirit of superiority and power.~~

6 Congress rules.

23. Adverting to the proposed "Creed" of the Congress convention the KRISTNAPATRIKA, of the 26th April observes:--"The new light is shining, the new spirit is developing, and the new life is spreading among the people. This ~~spirit~~ light is divine light; this spirit is the spirit of God; this life is the eternal life. Which newspapers, which preachers, and which kings can dim the lustre of this light, oppose this spirit and prevent the spread of this life? An attempt might be made to obstruct the wheel of time by those who are blinded by their power, wealth and selfishness. But its motion cannot be checked. The atmosphere is filled with democratic ideas. The sun of independence is dispelling the darkness of servitude with his irrepressible light. Sin is waning confined in its own place. Despotism is ruining itself dashing against despotism. The day-blind natives are afraid of the new light and confine themselves in

Congress rules

their huts. O, democracy, carry on your x rule unobstructed. Occupy the throne of the Congress and vouchsafe to the Indians unbounded liberty."

Illegal gratification to public servants.

25. The NADEGANNADI, of the 2nd May, observes that in the district of Guzranwalla, in the Punjab, nearly 200 persons gave evidence against a European officer named J.E.Stephens that he was receiving bribes and he was then suspended, But the somehow contrived to resign his place in the Punjab and is now reported to be holding even a higher office in Burma. Again, in the same province, namely, the Punjab, a Sikh clerk in the Public Works Department appears to have offered Rs.100 as a bribe to the head clerk of the District Magistrate, and in this case the Sikh was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. It is fairly established under the British Government that receiving bribes is no great offence but offering them is. If instead of the hundred rupees the Sikh had quietly dropped a thousand rupee note into the head clerk's hand, would the matter have come to light? Such is the method of administration in India that whilst big culprits go unpunished, mere accessories are punished with great severity.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Rally the Moderates.

30. The DESABHIMANI, of the 25th March, writes in English:-- Turn where you will there is seething unrest in India; whatever the cause, the whole country is in a state of ferment. It is no use blinking the fact. The popular discontent is deepening and the estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is growing with the rapidity of "the prophet's xxxxxx gourd". What with the repressive policy of Lord Curzon, what with his unwise, wanton and unmerited reflection on the character of the Indian race in his Convocation address, the ill-fated partition of Bengal, the forbidden meetings, summary arrests, deportations without

~~without~~ trial, press prosecutions, secret Police, and what not, the Indian mind is staggering enough in all conscience. The root cause of all this is surely the policy of suspicion and distrust so persistently pursued, regardless of xxxx consequences and regardless also of protests and warnings from all responsible and trustworthy sources. How can you win the confidence and love of the people when you don't trust them or sympathise with them? They have enough of woes in their own homes--poverty, famine, plague, oppressive land-tax--all of which vex and oppress them beyond endurance; and when you add to them these measures of repression born of mistrust and misunderstanding, they naturally lose all patience and forbearance and give themselves up to desperation. Nor are the authorities, responsible for the good Government of India, to blame for this sad state of things, situated, as they are, so far removed from all personal knowledge or touch with the people. The Secretary of State and even the Viceroy naturally trust to the men on the spot and to the reports of Anglo-Indian journals, and the men on the spot implicitly believe and are guided by whatever the Police whisper into their ears; and who does not know what the police anywhere and particularly in India are capable of? Even the Anglo-Indian journals do not often gauge the situation aright, but base their notions and conclusions on false and dangerous assumptions. Besides, the English are, as a nation, a proud race, exclusive and intolerant, forming, as it were, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. "Of xxx this foolish, surly national pride", said Bishop Heber, as long ago as 1825, "I see but too many instances daily, and I am convinced it does us much harm in India. We are not guilty of injustice, or wilful oppression, but we shut out the natives from our society and a bullying insolent manner is continually assumed ~~natives fro~~ in speaking to them". Hence this aloofness, this estrangement, this ever-widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled.

Now the question naturally arises; what is the remedy for this sad state of things and how to bring about that right understanding, mutual goodwill and mutual conference which is so devoutly

tox be wished? The answer is, as Mr.John Morley has rightly said, with his characteristic shrewdness and statesmanship, "Rally the Moderates." Don't tnust the police reports, don't trust the garbled versions of the irresponsible, interested and misguided newspaper correspondents, don't trust "the dreary ignorance and obstinate prejudice" of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, but trust the Moderates who are the rightful interp-preters of the wants of and wishes of the people, who have a stake in the country, who feel their responsibility in the matter who are eminently qualified to act as peacemakers and by whose advice and co-operation alone the much-needed harmony and right feeling can be established and maintained between the Governors and the governed.

31. The DESABHIMANI, of the 1st April, writes in English:--

Indians abroad.

As if internal troubles are not sufficiently annoying and discomforting, India is now harassed by an external problem--the problem of Indian emigration--which seems to assume serious proportions. The poor Indian is badgered at every step and stands desperate, looking helplessly on . . . . . Only recently the Indians fought a brave and bitter battle in the Transvaal and no thanks to the British Government that the Indians made some ground there, however poor a relief that may be. And last week again Reuter has wired another disquieting news that the Canadian Minister, Mr.Mackenizie King, has gone to England to confer with the Imperial Government about the measures to be adopted to check the influx of Indian immigrants into Canada. Mr.King accuses the Indians of competing cheaply in the labour market and of lowering the standard of life. True as the accusations are, it is a most heart-rending affair that our countrymen should be pushed to this extent and does it not reflect on the British Government? The Indians are notorious for being an inherently immobile race and nothing will induce them to leave their country unless compelled by the utmost

stress of circumstances. The greatest problem of an Indian ryot or wage-earner is now the problem of food, and when he cannot get it in his country, what else can he do than go out and get it? XXXXX No one can for a moment contend that the Indian emigrates in search of any huge enterprise or actuated by any greed for wealth. Nor can it for a moment be contended x that, on account of overpopulation, there is no room for him in India. The influx into India of of foreigners in increasingly large numbers will directly give the lie to this theory. The fact is that the oppressive and iniquitous taxes of the Govern ment take away from his nearly all that he is able to produce and the economic policy of the Government completes his ruin. Is it his fault or the apathy of Government then that makes him prefer half a morsel abroad however churlishly thrown, to utter starvation in his own country? As for lowering the standard of life, surely the Indian is not to blame for it. He was never used to a higher standard in India, because he never afforded it.

Well; whoever may be the to blame, the problem is one that is of vital and abiding interest to the Indians and demands urgent and sympathetic consideration at the hands of our rulers, and we hope that they will show by their xxxx advocacy of the Indians' cause that "the British Empire for all the British subjects alike" is no idle and meaningless platitude.

32. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th April, writes:--The Moderates of Tinnevelly, who went to the Governor with the idea of

A rebuff to the Moderates

proving the incompetency of the District officials and expatiating upon their own good conduct, have, after all, had, not only to pocket positive insult to themselves, but also coolly hear the Governor praising the ability of the very officials whom they wanted to discredit. Not only this: they have also got a bad name for the people. But we do not care whether the Governor

praises us or censures us. Only we are surprised to see that the gentlemen of Tinnevelly had lost all their sense. Is there one instance, within the last hundred years of the British rule, of the people having successfully vetoed a decision of the English officials? Especially now that the English are racking their brains as to how they can crush the people, what did men like Mr.Guruswami Aiyar expect to achieve by their visit to the Governor? In his reply to these people, the Governor has babbled that the riots at Tuticorin and Tinnevelly were caused only by the speeches of Mr.Chidambaram Pillai, that the leaders of Tuticorin did not move their little finger to assist Mr.Wynch, when the latter sought their help to suppress the riots, that, therefore, all must, perforce, suffer for the disastrous consequences which resulted from their indifference and so on. Our firends will understand, without our saying it, that not one of his statements is correct. Thus he has said that the popular leaders did not assist the officials. But we do not know who told Sir Arthur Lawley that the way to seek assistance is to threaten and insult those whose help is sought. Perhaps he learnt it in South Africa! The Tinnevelly leaders were ready to help and even tried to do so; but Messrs. Wynch and Ashe would not allow them to do so. From the outset, Mr.Ashe treated Mr.Venkatarama Aiyar and others of Tuticorin with scant courtesy. Not even caring for this, the leaders acted up to the instructions of the officials at every stage, ~~lest they leaders acted up to instructions of the officials at e every stage,~~ lest they should give room to the latterkk throwing all the blame upon the people. Still Mr.Ashe and, on his advice, Mr.Wynch were issuing new orders every minute and at last created a fracas by shooting innocent persons while trying to disperse a small crowd. Excepting this, what other riot happened at Tuticorin, and even at Tinnevelly? Thus, no serious danger threatened the town, as stated by Sir Arthur Lawley, and it was only Mr.Wynch and the Police officers who brought about a serious occurrence by unnecessarily shooting quiet passers-by. Moreover when it was not possible for the chief officer of the district,

with the strength of the Police and the law on this side, to have anticipated a riot and taken precautionary measures against it, what could the vakils and the merchants do? The bigwigs of the town can interfere only as far as they can; if neither the rash people nor the officials listen to their words, what can they do? Thus, to say that the riot was caused by the difference of the bigwigs is nothing but a pretext to screen the partiality and incapacity of the officials. Our people must definitely understand that the British Government will be conducted hereafter only like this. Either our slavery must become perpetual or if we desire liberty we must be prepared to suffer death by revolver and imprisonment and pay for a Punitive Police. O extreme Moderate! Learn now at least that what the English officials and papers want is that all gentlemen who call themselves Moderates should be hostile to the separate from those whom the officials point out as Extremists and that if the Moderates do not act so, they will also have to furnish security for good behaviour, have Punitive Police quartered on them and sometimes have even to go to prison!

The whites in the Transvaal

33. A correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th April, observes:--When the Transvaal was under the Boer Government, the whites in the Colony felt their position very irksome and wanted to remove that Government anyhow. To justify them in their action, they put forward the maltreatment of the Indians as a plea for waging a war against the Boers. Even during the conduct of this war, they patted the Indians on their backs and praised them for their faithful services. All this made the latter hope that they would be treated better when the Colony came under the rule of the whites. But alas! The moment the Transvaal came under the English control, all the hopes of the Indians were dashed to the ground and they began to be treated most cruelly, and at present the whites have joined hands with the Boers in trying to drive out the Indians altogether from the Colony

This has led to a combination among the Indians who have made up their minds to resist oppressive acts of the Government to the end. So the whites have now begun to act on their principle of "divide and rule"--a principle born with them--and, with a view to create dissension among the Indians, openly assert that they like only the Hindus and the Christians and that they hate the Muhammadans. But our brethren in the Colonies should not now be easily led away by the glib assertions made by the whites and the lip sympathy evinced by them. They should take care that their camp is on no account divided. In this connection I would remind them that it is these very white that recently played a similar dodge of befriending the Muhammadans against the Hindus in Northern India. It is only these that try to dissever the union of our brethren who have the interests of the country at heart, and not our own brethren, that are our enemies.

The B.I.S.N. Company VERSUS The SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company.

34. A correspondent, of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th April, writes:--Under what provision of the law is the Government taking the side of the B.I.S.N. Company against the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin? What offence has the latter company committed, unless it be that it fired to compete on equal terms with other company? Even granting that by drawing customers to itself, the SWADESHI Company caused a loss to the other company, it is the latter, as the aggrieved party, that must sue the former. Instead of this, if the Government itself becomes a plaintiff, why should there be a trial? For, the aim of law is that a plaintiff should prove to the authorities who represent Government that certain people are offenders and by the Government itself becoming the plaintiff, the ends of law are defeated. Perhaps law and justice are not for the Indians! Besides, what is the cause of the present alleged feeling of disloyalty?

For, without a cause, there cannot be an effect. When the authorities begin to act as they like, even transgressing the bounds of law and justice, the people naturally get disgusted with the Government. Can this feeling be removed by punishing and imprisoning really honest men? This will only tend to fan the flame. No Indian wishes to drive out the British Government and replace it by a native Government. His only object is to have all the rights of a British citizen, and it is the duty of the authorities to help the Indians to attain this object. Instead of this, the authorities are actuated by questions of caste, religion and colour in the discharge of their duties, and take a pleasure in punishing and imprisoning the Indians arbitrarily, whatever may be the culture of position of the latter. This play cannot be indulged in for a long time; for, this will itself ultimately lead to disastrous results. India is the motherland of the Indians and so every Indian is bound to work for the betterment of his country, and he cannot become an offender thereby. If he is regarded as such, then it will only mean that the authorities do not like that the Indian public should live happily. Thus, the unwarranted mischief of the authorities who do not care for the interests of the county, is the real cause of the feeling of disloyalty in the minds of the people. So, these form the root canker of the British Government. Therefore if these are removed, no harm can never befall the British Government.

The Muhammadan Educational conference.

35. With reference to the Muhammadan Educational Conference which recently held its sittings at Madras, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th April observes:--This appears to be a prototype of our congress with almost the same aims and objects. But considering the resolutions passed till now, they seem to be connected with minor points. Thus, one resolution asks for greater privileges to their community in the matter of education, and another prays for certain appointments in the Educational Service

to be reserved to them. These must be considered minor points indeed, when the uplifting of a big com unity is the main object How long is it possible to be always cringing for the favour of the English and be content with the crumbs thrown out by them now and then? Many times we have observed in the MITRAN that no nation has become great solely by the number of the Government employments held by its members. So, real greatness can be achieved by a nation only by having high objects and aspirations before their mind and by unanimously preserving in that direction and not by begging benefits at the hands of foreigners. Our congress has been working only with this aim in view, and that is why it has impressed on the minds of the Hindus the faith that they are sure to become a free people soon and the feeling that antipathy of the foreigners cannot in the least impede their progress. ~~Though the Muhammadan are also beginning that the antipathy of the foreigners cannot in the l least impede their progress.~~ Though the Muhammadans are also be beginning to realise the necessity of working in the same direction, they are afraid to assert it openly for fear that they may thereby incur the displeasure of the Government. But the tendency of the times has made it impossible for even them to keep their objects a secret. So, men like Muhammad Raza Khan have begun to detail the greatness of the Muhammadans in the past and wonder when they are going to have it again. It is pitiable indeed that the descendants of the great kings of Bagdad who once spread knowledge and civilization throughout the world should sit at the feet of a foreigner like Justice Boddam and try to please him in all possible ways. They should leave off this habit, choose leaders from their own comunity and act under their instructions. They should begin to feel that they are also Indians, sons of mother India, equally with the Hindus, and join the latter in sacrificing their all--life, body and wealth-- for the acquisition of SWARAJ.

36. The INDIA, of the 11th April, observes:--The merchants of Peshawar, who recently lost some thousands by the raids of the Afiridis, have petitioned the Government for the payment of Rs. 26,830 as compensation for their losses on the followings grounds, viz.,--

Damages againt the Government.

(1) The looting took place only when the Government itself was giving a party to the looters;

(2) even knowing that they were robbers by profession, the Government did not take any steps to guard the town;

(3) nor did it intimate to the people the character of these men and warn them tobe on their guard.

We do not know what reply the Government will give. Suppose they give a negative reply, what are these merchants going to do? Our foolish people are always crying for justice; but who will listen to them?

37. The INDIA, of the 11th April, writes:--The members of the Tinnevelly deputation that waited upon the Governor plainly stated that the speeches of Mr.Chidambaram Pillai and others were the real cause of the riots. Our readers know that is not so. Even granting that the people of Tinnevelly committed some excesses in the first outburst of their fury, it is not the speeches of Mr.Chidambram Pillai, but the illegal incarceration, of this gentleman and his mates, that really led to it. Knowing all this, Mr.Guruswami Aiyar and others have made the above statement perhaps with a view to gain the favour of the authorities!

Treachery's labour lost

Again, these people told the Governor that the audience of Mr.Chidambaram Pillai consisted only of low class people. There cannot be a worse instance of wilful misstatement. We were at Tuticorin ourselves during this period and we can boldly say that many mirasdars, merchants and others, who are more respectable both in position and temperament than the Hon'ble Mr.Guruswami Aiyar, attended the above lectures. In spite of

the fact that Mr.Guruswami Aiyar has played the role of a traitor to his countrymen, the Governor has not cared to accede to the requests of the deputation.

The fate of Indians in the frontier.

38. The INDIA, of the 11th April, remarks:--Some days back, some Masuds, another robber tribe, murdered the servants of the British Agent in the ZAMIN of Vano. For this, about 300 poor people of the locality have been arrested and are now in custody and these are maintained at the cost of Government, that is, from our money. The authorities are also building a separate structure for these people, as the local jail does not accommodate them conveniently. The ground on which this structure is being put up was purchased by the Hindu inhabitants of Dehra Ismail Khan with money collected by public subscriptions for the purpose of holding DASARA and other celebrations, and this has now served to accommodate the guests of Government. Perhaps these have been kept here with a view to be let loose upon the people of the locality if necessary. O Indians! Beware that there are many waiting to crush you under their feet if an opportunity occurs, and so it is only your physical strength that will protect you now.

Again the same paper observes:-.The hill tribes on the frontier seem to have regarded Peshawar as their treasury from which they can take money by looting whenever they liked! And it is no wonder, for there is no one to check their misdeeds. On the 26th ultimo, another frontier tribe seems to have looted the small village of Marsadar, burnt about eleven houses and even carried away a Hindu woman; and many are the sufferers that are now left in the lurch without an inch of space to stand on and a mouthful of water to drink. Is there no limit to the sufferings of the Indians? On one side there is plague; on another, an intense famine. For people who escape from both these, there are the frontier tribes to loot and kill. There may be a fortunate few who are spared even from all these calamities

and in their case, the Government comes in to have its share of squeezing. Alas! Even the Afridis, who are robbers by profession, will not brook a community living in their midst suffering like this!

39. The NADAGANNADI, of the 2nd May, has the following, apparently an extract from some other paper:--

Can the Brahamans betake to arms like the Kshatriyas?

Though the art of war generally the pursuit of the Kshatriya community in ancient India, Bhisma and Drona were excellent Brahman warriors, and it is nowhere said in the Shastras that the Brahmans ought not to practise anchery. Besides, it is mentioned in the MANUSMRITHI that where a king fails to protect his subjects against thieves and robbers or oppress his own subjects or does not ~~only~~ support the religious faith of his subjects, the DWIJA's (twice born) ought to use the weapons of war. The present Government has not only disarmed the people, but is even reluctant to protect them against enemies and furthermore blames the people for not rendering help to the State in the time of the riots. The difference between the present system of administration and that in the days of Manu will be clear from the following examples:-- Though it is now nearly three months since the Afridis began to plunder the houses of rich Hindus in Peshawar, the authorities have as yet made no effort to protect these Hindus against their raiders. If these agrrieved people approach the authorities for help, they are only insulted and sent away. On the 6th ultimo, nearly a hundred Afridis plundered the bazaar of Peshawar. Of these nearly 40 were arrested by the Police, but were released on their ~~leading~~ leaders giving an assurance that they would not commit any further raids; and before even some three weeks had elapsed these tribes renewed their raids. If these same tribes had plundered the houses of the Europeans instead, would they have been discharged so easily? Again, as a punishment for the ~~impox im~~ mischief of a few malcontents at Tinnevelly, a punitive Police tax has been imposed on the

whole city, and when the popular representatives approached the Governor for redress, His Excellency seems to have replied that, as the local citizens did not render any help to the authorities at the time of the riots, it was reasonable to impose the tax on the whole city. Strange is the sense of equity of the Madras Government. What possible help could those unarmed effeminate people render against the rioters? If ~~they~~ any person happens to possess a knife with a blade of a little more than ordinary length, he is at once arrested by the Police and prosecuted. When the British themselves with cannon at their back are afraid of the people using ordinary sword-sticks, how could they expect respectable and disarmed citizens to oppose a riotous mob in order to help the police? If the Arms Act be repealed the frontier trouble would disappear nor need any bribe be given to these tribes in future to keep them quiet. It would further increase popular confidence in the rulers. But it is not probable that Government will grow wise in the near future. It behoves all ~~people~~ people, therefore, to turn their attention to physical culture and learn the art of using LATHIES and practise archery so as to be able to protect their own lives and help the State in times of trouble.

For the week ending 9th May 1908.

No. 19 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Another Judicial scandal

2. The HINDU, of the 4th May, contains the following leader.--". . . . . Another grave miscarriage of justice has occurred in the Gudalur Ghaut case, the concluding proceedings in which, with the judgment of the District Magistrate of the Nilgiris, we publish to-day. The accused in the case is a European planter, one Mr.Andrews. He and a fellow-planter, Mr.Porter, were travelling up the ghaut from Gudalur to

by motor-car on the 16th April last. At about 9 A.M. they met on the road a string of six country carts coming down the hill. Five of the carts were passed by the motor-car without difficulty, but the sixth cart wa s driven by a young boy, and the paxti pastixposition of the cart left little or no room in the road for the motor-car to pass. 'Seeing the obstruction, the accused dismounted from his car and went towards the cart, calling out to let his car pass. The boy who was driving stopped the cart, and the driver, who was a Mappilla Ali by name, who was walking behind the cart, ran up in front, caught the bulls by the nose strings, and began to walk backwards down the hill, moving the cart to the side of the road. What happened then is clearly stated in the dying declaration of the deceased. . . . This, inx the main, is the state of the prosecution evidence, which to a man of unbiassed mind would be considered amply sufficient to convict the accused of a gross criminal act, whatever its exact technical designation may be, and to inflict upon him condign punishment. The judgment of the Magistrate is, however, a most disingenuous piece of special pleading on behalf of the accused. A charge was framed against the accused to causing simple hurt, and minimum offence which the facts proved can amountx to, and Mr. Andrews pleading guilty to it, Mr.Robertson, the Magistrate, convicted him of the offence and sentenced him to a fine of Rs.15 We wonder why this European planter did not wish to escape paying even this paltry fine by claiming to be tried by a jury of his own countrymen. The grounds urged by the Magistrate to attenuate the case against the accused may do credit to his ingenuity, but they show a xxx small sense of fairness, justice or impartiality between xxxxxxxt man and man. If ever there was a dying declaration which bore intrinsic marks of truth, and which stands unassailed by the imputation of any sordid motives or substantial evidence to rebut it, it is, we think, the dying statement of the Mappila cartdriver Ali- I am speaking the truth, he said, ' in the name of the Almighty.. I have three little children but no wife. There is no one to feed and clothe these children in the future.' Can this man's statement be reasonably

suspected of not containing the truth, especially when it is corroborated by the evidence of four witnesses. . . . . As against the strong evidence adduced to support the case made out in the dying declaration of the deceased, the Magistrate places implicit reliance on the evidence of European fellow planter, Porter who admits in his evidence that he did not leave the car till the accident was over but says that he had a clear view of what was going on. He also admits that he was present in the verandah and knew of this when the deceased gave his dying declaration. Considering that the evidence of this witness and the statement of the accused are substantially the same, his conduct in not going into the room to hear the dying statement of the deceased man, although he had free access to the place, is extremely noteworthy in view of the Magistrate's remark that the accused was not present when the dying declaration was taken and had no opportunity of cross-examination. The Magistrate of Salem, kept a cheetah as a pet animal in his house which flew at the throat of a servant woman and mauled her so severely that she died subsequently of the injuries inflicted by the ferocious animal. Mr.Robertson, no doubt, believes that the death of the woman was due to 'accident'. We do not find in the judgment a word expressive of regret for the fate of the unfortunate cart-driver, or of his forlorn children. Mr.Robertson, on the other hand, does all he can to extenuate the accused European planter. He says in his judgment: 'The conduct of the accused was all through consistent with the occurrence being accidental,' and upon what is this remark based? 'He at once sent for the Police, did all he could to assist the injured man, and gave a full statement in writing to the Sub-Magistrate.' May we ask whether the accused, who is a European planter, presumably of means, gave any money to succour the destitute children of the deceased? The Magistrate concludes his judgment with some strange strictures upon the Police officer and the Sarishtadar-Magistrate. The latter is said to have acted without a full sense of his responsibility. He takes comfort in the thought, however, that presumably his failure in this respect was due to his taking the same view as that taken

by this Court! We are inclined to agree with the District Magist-trate that views like his own and a lack of sense of responsibility often go together."

Acquittal of an European at the Calcutta Criminal Sessions.

4. The HINDU, of the 8th May, writes:--"We publish to-day the proceedings of the case at the Calcutta Criminal Sessions on Tuesday last in which William Pyper, a European assistant of the Tittaghur Mills, was charged with culpable homicide not amounting to murder, causing death by negligence, voluntarily causing grievous hurt by a dangerous weapon, and causing grievous hurt by an act which endangered human life. In November, last the accused, after visiting a liquor shop at Barrackpore, went into a grocer's shop next door to make some purchases, being, as the prosecution alleged, under the influence of liquor. While in this shop accused fired two shots from a revolver, the second of which struck a woman named Anjulia Mohatin in the knee. She subsequently died from her injuries. The ~~ese~~ case for the defence was that a large crowd had assembled and abused the accused and that the gun went off by accident. Mr. Justice Fletcher, in summing up, said it was for the jury to decide on the facts whether the act was done without any criminal intention or knowledge and ~~whether the act was done without any xix and~~ whether firing of a revolver in a crowded street was the act of a person acting with proper care and caution. The jury, after an absence of about ten minutes, returned with a unanimous verdict of not guilty on all counts, and thereby added one more to the long list of unavenged murders of Indians by Europeans in this country. How anybody with a conscience could have acquitted the accused of the offence of having caused death by doing a rash and negligent act, is a mystery to us."

IV. NATIVE STATES.

7. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 5th May, writes as follows:--

Mysore official secret.

"A Mysore correspondent conveys to us what he calls an 'official secret' It is he tells us, 'a proposed legislative measure or ordinance to gag the local press,' and thus to safeguard certain powers interests, which he specifies, against the attacks of the local press. The legislation, we are further informed, 'is being forged in the cool atmosphere of Ootacamund and the few links wanting are said to have been forged to complete the chain for strangulating public opinion'. He then goes on to say 'though His Highness may have wise head on his young shoulders, he cannot resist the pressure and influence that has gathered strength at Ootacamund just now full or distinguished visitors. They find a sympathetic friend in Mr.Madhava Rao . . . . . This extra-ordinary legislation is not to be placed before the Legislative Council,' because, he says, the constitution of the Council would not admit of an easy assent being secured to such a measure. The legislative machinery of the Mysore State has not, of late, been always employed in the interests of the people; for there have been legislative measures tending to infringe the rights of the Maharaja's subjects. Those measures were dealt with in these columns at the time they were introduced, and the new move towards legislation tending to weaken the position of the Maharaja's subjects is indeed to be deplored. The administration of Mysore at present does not seem to command that general confidence which ought to be the special privilege of a native Government; and rightly or wrongly the people seem to be in a mood to believe many bad things against the Mysore administration. The time seems to have gone by when the Diwans of Native States deemed it incumbent on them to stand for the rights of the people; and, one by one, these States seem to be losing the nobler features of indigenous rule, and making the status and rights of the people worse than those of the inhabitants of British India. The tide seems to be flowing against Native States, notwithstanding all the recent declarations of the Secretary

of State to the ~~xxxxxxx~~ contrary. And at the rate things seem tobe proceeding in Mysore, we are afraid the day may not be far distant when it will have lost many of the most attractive features of indigenous rule. His Highness the Maharaja ~~is spoken attractive featuresixx~~ is spoken of in loving terms by his subjects; but His Highness' Government does not seem to enjoy the love and esteem so freely accorded to him

272.x personally. The press legislation, if it is in serious contemplation, will be regarded and opposed throughout the country as a serious disaster, more unfortunate than the financial disaster into which the administration is said to be ~~xxxxxxx~~ drifting just at present; and we should, indeed, be surprised if any Indian administrator were proud of such an achievement."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Bomb outrage at Muzaffurpore

9. The HINDU, of the 4th May, writes as follows:--"Details of the bomb outrage at Muzaffurpore perpetrated on Thursday night are given at some length in our telegraphic columns. Even more startling than the details of the outrage are the particulars of the raid in Calcutta into what is reported to be a den of anarchists, with an arsenal of bombs and other explosives. A heavy haul is said to have been made resulting in arrests of a sensational kind and some still more sensational confessions. Mrs. and Miss Kennedy have succumbed to their injuries. They have been the innocent victims to a most revolting outrage. The most widespread sympathy will be felt for the bereaved Mr.Kennedy, and the sympathy will be the greater for the reason that the MISSILE was apparently meant for another. The details, so far as they have come to light, are of the most shocking and terrible description, and are of a kind which were hitherto unknown in this country. We hope the police will succeed in getting at the real culprits. The Government of India have ordered a reward of Rs.10,000 for nay disclosures regarding the Muzaffarpore outrage."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 4th May, has the following leader:- "Intelligence of the most sensational kind is conveyed by our

Calcutta telegrams to-day, of the discovery of an anarchist plot carefully planned, with a keen eye to essentials and accessories. Expert knowledge, acquired in the laboratories of France, has been made available for the purpose, with a library of literature on the manufacture of explosives and chemical substances to manufacture explosives with. The preparation must have been proceeding evidently for some long months without rousing the least suspicion or attracting the least attention. Otherwise it is inconceivable how, in a crowded city like Calcutta, the Police which has been so active and prominent at public meetings, and has been so frequently raiding newspaper offices, lost clear sight of the infernal fraternity and their preparations until a fatal outrage was perpetrated at Muzaffurpore. Our correspondent says that the Police have found a well-equipped bomb factory, with dry batteries, bottles of picric acid, stocks of gunpowder, dynamite cartidges and detonators, iron casing for shells, moulds, thermometers, test tubes, glass bulbs, in fact all the infernal paraphernalia of such ~~scheme~~ dens. (+) Whether or not the attempt on the

274. ~~connected with~~ Lieutenant-Governor's train was due to the gang that manages this factory it is not possible to say. In any case they have only just commenced their operations, and before there was time to repeat their deadly experiments twice over, they have been found out, and this is a circumstance on which the country is to be congratulated. It has been the boast of Indians that their country ~~is to be congratulated~~ has never given birth to anarchists who, in the West, have been assassinating kings and ministers; and they have not hesitated to taunt the civilization of the West on that account. But this boast and this taunt would lose both justification and excuse if we allowed in our country the growth of a fraternity, hated throughout the civilized world and unknown and unheard of in this land of Rishis and sages. Western civilization and Western science have brought us many evils along with many blessings; but whatever other evils we may have tolerated, the anarchist creed and the anarchist methods, ~~evils we may have tolerated, the anarchist creed and the anarchist methods,~~ so foreign to our instincts, so obnoxious to our sense, and

(+) Completed bombs and other deadly instruments were also found readymade, well-arranged, and placed in their proper places. So far some thirty people have been arrested as being connected with the infernal scheme.

so revolting to our feelings, are a shocking disgrace to our religion and our civilization, and will bring faxmixy infamy on our land. We are, therefore, glad that the plot has been discovered before it has had time to do further mischief and to cause further danger.

"While the authorities may count upon the complete sympathy and support of the country at large in regard to the measures that they may take to suppress dangerous developments of this sort, the statesmen at the head of affairs have also to be reminded of the importance of insight and sympathy at this juncture. There is no use of blinking over the fact that there is widespread discontent in the country, discontent which is the result at once of unsatisfied aspirations and unredressed grievances. The aspirations are perhaps confined to the educated classes; but the sense of grievance extends over a wider area. Mere suppression of the symptoms of discontent without applying the xx remedy at the root will have no permanent effect. It is in Bengal that repression on a large scale has been tried; and it is in Bengal precisely that the most unexpected developments have occurred. With xmxx each successive repression there has been a new development; and although there are people who contend that Sir J.B.Fuller should have been continued in office, we belive even they will admit that it was his repressive regime even more than the partition that was the actual xorigin of all the later troubles. We have had, since his time, prosecutions for sedition and severe punishment of boys and grown up men in connection with a variety of cases. We have also had prohibition of public meetings and speeches. None of these things have in the least improved the situation, but, on the other hand, have brought into existence a number of desparadoes bent on obtaining the crown of the anarchist and the assassin. The far-seeing statesmen will surely read in all this a meaning which may not be very apparent to shallow minds. Nor are the signs of discontent confined to one particular province. All over the country, for one reason or another, there have

been similar indications. The question is whether it is easier to suppress them all by vigorous measures, or, while trying to suppress them, to take also such measures as may tend graduall to diminish the force of discontent, and thus to weaken the hands of those who are for not removing the grievances, but for revolutionising the entire system of order and peace."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 5th May, writes as follows:-- "If what the Calcutta telegrams contain correctly represent the facts, the Muzaffurpore tragedy has led to the discovery of an anarchist conspiracy of the kind which has been at once the terror and disgrace of civilised Europe but from which Asiatic countries, especially India, had been singularly free ever since the dawn of history. ~~history~~ Three years ago Bengal was one of the most peaceful and law-abiding of provinces. But to-day we are told by our Calcutta correspondent that 'the Calcutta Police have unearthed a state of anarchism undreamt of, such as points to an organisation and a substantial financial backing that could not have been founded in a week or a month, but put it beyond question that the movement has been on foot for a long period.' Our correspondent then goes into the details of the discoveries made in Calcutta which, we are told, is the head-quarters of the infernal organisation. These details take our breath away. But if what is stated is true, what has seen the light of day may be after all nothing compared with what may yet be discovered. In any case the details already ~~compared with what~~ given are awful. We are told that among the papers seized are a mass of anarchist literature and a box of correspondence 'which will lead ultimately to startling disclosures,' The 'disclosures' will, of course, soon follow. The situation created by this discovery is serious ~~xxxxx~~ enough. A number of arrests have already been published. But so far nothing definite can be said about what has already been If we are not mistaken the information now teleg graphed to different parts of India has leaked out from the police. In a few days more authentic and definite information will be forthcoming. But we may at once say that as in Europe where such foul crime is the work of an insane gang of desperadoes, in Bengal those who are connected with the conspiracy belong, we doubt

not, to a class whom India knows nothing about. We await further developments and fuller particulars.

"We hope that the authorities in Bengal will keep their heads cool and will not 'govern in anger'. The plot of which even the ramifications have been discovered will engender a painful feeling of horror and disgust all over India. No sympathy will be felt for the authors of it and their accomplices. It is stated in one of our telegrams that one of the men arrested ~~hxax~~ has said that divine curse has fallen on him and his associates for having caused the death of two innocent English ladies, which seems to us to mean that even the authors of the tragedy are not entirely destitute of the feeling of humanity. Whatever it is, ~~thrxgxxxt~~ throughout India the Muzaffurpore tragedy will reprobated and the deepest sympathy will be felt for Mr.Kennedy. But unhappy Bengal must also come in for sympathy. For over two years it has known no rest, has had no freedom from the worries consequent on the feeling against the partition. We can well imgaine that what has now been brought to light has deepened the confusion. In the face of all that has happened it is not improbable that measures for the improvement of the province will not for a time at any rate be vigorously prosecuted. In the state of panic in which it finds itself and with the Anglo-Indian press inciting the authorities to the sternest repressive action, it is
energies of the Govt. will be devoted to the adoption of severest
275 likely that the measures in the name of peace and order. The authors of the disorder are comparatively few in number. But their delinquency and dark deeds are likely to bring troubles innumerable to the entire population whose loyalty and law-abiding nature are proverbial. What Bengal wants is rest. How is rest to come from a situation so grave is the question that will be asked? If, however, the Bengal Government and the Government of India see through the whole affair and realise that the law-breakers are a small minority for whom no sympathy whatever is felt and if the law is ~~fx~~ left to take its own course without having recourse to any stringent executive or legislative action, the excitement will abate itself."

The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 6th May, publishes the following in its editorial notes column:--"It is not possible to speak with restraint of the dastardly crime committed against two innocent European ladies at Muzaffurpore. The whole country is profoundly shocked at the news and its sympathy goes out to Mr.Kennedy in his terrible bereavement. Bombthrowing has hitherto been an unheard-of outrage in India and the general character of the people with their traditional reverence and kindness for xxhuman xxxxxx life must be a guarantee against the commission of such atrocious and inhuman crimes. It is a painfully strange and unexpected event in the annals of the country and whatever the cause, immediate or remote, the Government should put it down with a stern hand and make the repetition of it totally impossible. The contagion of evil spreads fast and furious and unless it traced to its source and completely rooted out, no man's life will be safe The fact that within the last four months there have been such outrages shows that it is not an isolated act of fanatic but points to the existence of a deadly organisation, planning these diabolical devices with some end inview. This is not the time to dally over the thing and both the people and the Government should co-operate together and not rest till the secret organisation is strangeld out of existence and the stain on our national honour is blotted out without the slightest trace behind.

"At the same time we should like to say a word by way of caution. Passions are sure to be roused by crimes of this kind and there will be an indiscriminate cry for repression. We cannot deny that the crime must be traced to the evil effects of the irresponsible and foolish preachings of a few fanatics who would not have bargained for such an unexpected result. Perhaps they are realising now that sowing the wind always results in a whirlwind whether they expected it or not, and how dangerous it is to inflame the mind of the ignorant people who after a certain stage will get out of hand and act recklessly and desperately. The real culprits when caught may not scruple to include in their category innocent men and there is just the danger of the latter being made to suffer for the sins of others.

Especially at a moment when feelings run high and both the authorities and the populace are excited to an undesirable extent, utmost calmness and caution are necessary in investigating the crime and in bringing the offenders to justice. The insane vapourings of a misguided individual ought not to be taken as a proof of his participation in the outrage, still he is proved guilty by independent and direct evidence. There is every inducement for hasty and ill-considered proceedings, but we trust the Government will pursue a policy at once firm and wise, and they may rest assured that in this matter they will have the unstinted support of the public at large."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 7th May, writes as follows:- "Nobody denies that the situation in Bengal which the bomb outrage and what followed have developed is serious, and we doubt not that the authorities will deal with it effectively. Anarchists are a pest to society, and they have hitherto been flourishing only amidst the civilisation of Europe. India known for its peace, piety, and humanity even under the most trying circumstances, will not, for a moment, tolerate it, and the influence of public opinion and the will and power of the entire Indian community will be found on the side of law, order and progress. The native of India is proverbially mild and has been noted for his readiness to submit to and respect authority. But the comments that we have come across in some of the Anglo-Indian papers and what the LONDON TIMES has written on the revelations and discoveries made in Bengal would seem to show that the native of India is cursed with a double dose of original sin. Reuter has given us a short summary of the malicious lucubrations of the TIMES. 'The carnival of sedition and incitement' says that paper 'in which agitators in Bengal have for so long indulged amid the benedictions of their allies in England is producing its natural consequences. If further checks are placed upon the subtle exponents of violent methods, the persons who abused latitude which has hitherto been permitted are alone to blame. We are not sure that such additional precaution should operate only against natives." The TIMES thus pronounces the

decree of Jove from on high. It abuses the English friends of India in England and foreshadows the introduction of the severest repressive measures. Whether the TIMES speaks with any inspiration or not we do not know. In regard to India at any rate the TIMES is supposed to speak out the minds of the governing classes in England. It may be that before long some new machine of repression will be brought into being, which, if the TIMES is correct, will be comprehensive enough to include all. But the TIMES notwithstanding, no engine of repression, will affect the European in India. If honesty in journalism is not a lost virtue the TIMES should not forget at this moment Lord Curzon, the real author of all the present unrest in India. Bengal was a peaceful province three or four years ago. Since the partition which was effected in the teeth of the opposition of the people it has become a seething mass of discontent. But all the time that Lord Curzon was in India the TIMES and the Anglo-Indian press in general have been inciting and encouraging him on in his career of folly. His Lordship is now at home posing as a great authority on Indian affairs. He is now a leader of his party hoping, apparently, to become Prime Minister of England. But in India the people are reaping the fruits of his regime, and Lords Morley and Minto have had no rest since they came into their respective offices. To-day the feelings between the European and Indian are strained and the situation itself seems to grow more acute. When are we to have any rest? Event follows event and repressive measure follows repressive measure; and if the TIMES is correct something very drastic will be introduced into India as the result of the black conspiracy in which a few men in Bengal were involved. In India itself the Anglo-Indian press, with a few exceptions, have begun a campaign of vilification as if the people of India had anything to do with the revolutionaries in Bengal. But we sincerely hope that better counsel will prevail. Let the law-breakers be dealt with according to law. But no action should be taken the effect of which will be to retard progress and injure permanently the interests of the people at large."

10. The following appears in the WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 9th May:--

"ON BEAT DUTY.

"(BY BANDE MATARAM).

"So Calcutta is becoming civilised according to Western ideals, and anarchism and bomb-shells and picric acid have found a foothold there. Anglo-Indian and Eurasian editors in their wisdom attribute these uncanny developments in the situation in Calcutta to an overdose of original sin in the constitution of the Bengali Babu. But, I am quite sure, though they may modestly disclaim it, that the whole credit for manufacturing anarchists out of mild Babus is entirely theirs. These newspapers have so long and so continuously been ridiculing the Babu as a mere windbag that it is intelligible how misguided young men smarting under the taunt, grow desperate, turn anarchists and stagger humanity by perpetrating crimes which will at least convince their enemies that they can dare and do.

"The whole philosophy of the genesis of anarchism in Calcutta seems to be this. The partition of Bengal was effected in the teeth of an overwhelming opposition. A strong agitation grew up, in the course of which many young intelligent Bengalis spoke and wrote in rather fiery language. Surely the speeches were not calculated to increase the affection of the people for a Government which was responsible for the unpopular measure. Magistrate Mr.Kingsford applied the legal definition of sedition as want of affection rather freely and kept himself busy with the whip for which he was duly promoted. Shoals of men were sent to jail to rot there. Free speech was repressed and meetings dispersed. Men came out of jail with condensed hatred in their hearts. It is nothing surprising, therefore, that they have been busy converting their hatred into picric acid and bomb-shells in subterranean dens.

"The autocract sends a man to jail because the latter has been eloquently holding forth on the aspirations for SWARAJ of himself and his countrymen. The man comes out of jail an anarchist unless he happens to be a deeply religious man like Lala Lajpat

Rai whose heart wouldnot grow bitter under any amount of ill-treatment. But the majority of political agitators are not Lajpat Rais.

"The autocrat cuts off the head of an over-zealous patriot, who insistently claims room to stand erect and grow to his full stature. The anarchist retorts with an infernal bomb-shell. The one will go by the name of justice as known to the law of the day, the other as murder. But a seer like Count Leo Tolstoy would hit the nail on the head by regarding both the acts as essentially the same, ~~mxrxlyxx~~ namely, the use of brute force to remove an obstacle from the path.

"The moral of it all is this; that hatred ceases not by hatred, hatred ceases only by love. As Jesus Christ put it, they who live by the sword shall also perish by the sword. It is perhaps useless to expect the bureaucrat to learn this lesson so soon.

"What a relief it is to turn from the philosophy of bureaucrats and bomb-shells in Bengal to a spontaneous manifestation of love on the part of a Nayudu in Tinnevelly towards Mr.Chidambaram Pillai of SWADESHI Steam Navigation fame, as the latter was being taken back to jail after the sedition trial for the day. Here is the incident.

"'When Chidambaram Pillai was being taken to jail, a Nayudu embraced him crying out "What crime have you committed? Why should they take you to jail? You are innocent". In spite of police entreaties and threats, he would not disentangle himself. The Nayudu has been remanded to the District Jail.'

"That is as it should be. Let us stand together and share each other's burdens and sorrows. Let us base our union on mutual love among ourselves and not on common hatred of the foreigner, however much the latter may provoke us, in the supreme folly of his race-conceit."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

"Look at this picture and look at that picture!"

12. Instituting a comparison between the Government of Madras and that of Mysore in connection with the riots that took place at Tinnevelly and in the Mysore gold mines respectively, the NAVAYUGA, of the 30the April, observes:--"The punitive Police was not imposed in the Native States as in Tinnevelly. No people were killed there as in Tinnevelly, where Mr.Wynch killed some. No people were tried there under 'Security' sections and for sedition. There no distinction was observed between Faringhees and Natives. To be brief, see how calmly was the disturbance quelled in the Native State without any need for any of the atrocities committed by the Government officials at Tinnevelly.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The Sub-Court at Tuticorin

14. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th April writes:--"Rumour goes that the Sub-Court at Tuticorin is to be abolsished. Perhaps the Europeans think that, if this is done, the prominent vakils of the town will have to leave the place and also that as the number of people coming into the town will decrese, the SWADESHI trade will go down. But these people have forgot the fact that the SWADESHI spirit does not depend upon one place like Tuticorin. It is spreading throughout the country, and so it is not possible to suppress it by transfering a Sub-Court, driving out the vakils and similar acts."

Acquittal of a European offender in Calcutta.

15. The NADEGANNADI, of the 9th May, says that when the coolies in one of the factories in Calcutta went on strike and demanded increased wages a European named William Piper shot at them with a revolver, but when the case came on for trial at

~~them with a revolver~~, ~~but when the case came on for trial~~ at the High Court the European jury acquitted him. The revolver is said to have gone off by accident! Is there any case of European having been hanged for murder in India? Nobody now thinks of such miscarriage of justice as anything extraordinary.

(h) Railways.

The opening of a refreshment-room and a ladies' waiting-room in the Egmore Railway Station for Mussalman passengers.

19. The JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 2nd May, writes that the Indian Railway administration introduces some reforms or other which are exclusively intended for the benefit of the Hindu section alone. According to the saying "Might is right", the British Government have the well-being of the Hindus at heart, for it is they who possess more influence, wealth and honour and command a higher respect than the Mussalmans, and it is their grievances, whether just or unjust, which are readily redressed by the British Government. It is a matter for great regret that none care for and sympathise with the poor and afflicted Muhammadans. Every facility is afforded to the Hindu passengers, and all possible arrangements are made for their comfort at every principal station on the Indian railways. Every station has got separate refreshment and ladies' waiting room for Europeans and Hindus, etc., but for Muhammadans there are none. There was a Muhammadan fruit vendor's stall in the Egmore Railway Station just before the constructions of the new buildings. It is now observed to our great surprise that a Brahmin stall has now taken its place. The Brahman watermen at some

28| stations ~~xx~~ very reluctantly give water to the thirsty Muhammadan railway passengers. Besides this, the Muhammadans are religiously prohibited from using things prepared by Brahmans or Hindus. In consideration of the above facts the JARIDAH hopes that the local Government will be pleased to suggest to the South Indian Railway authorities the desirability of making arrangements for a special refreshment-room and ladies' waiting-rooms for the Mussalmans in the Egmore Railway Station.

(k) General.

The Government's reply to the Tinnevelly deputation.

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th April, reports the AMRITA BAZZAR PATRIKA to have written as follows regarding the Tinnevelly deputation:--"The Governor refused to grant the request of the members at the deputation to appoint a commission of enquiry. Evidently the reason for this refusal is the fear that such a commission may bring to light the meanness and vagaries of the officials. Four persons have been shot down by these officials. Did any of these do the slightest harm to them? If atrocities like this had been committed in any other country, the offenders would have been brought to book at once; but this is India and so there is none to question the culprits! They have not even been transferred! On the other hand, their acts have been applauded by the Government. What justice!"

"No kind of preaching allowed."

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th April, writes:--The Temperance Committee at Poona resolved in one of their meetings to send out volunteers to do picketting work and accordingly these divided themselves into batches and were advising people not to enter the liquor shops. But even this attempt has provoked the authorities of Poona. Thus some days back, a temperance preacher xxxx was arrested and fined Rs.10 by the District Magistrate of Poona. Till now the authorities were punishing only SWADESHI preachers; but seeing that a temperance preacher has been punished in Poona, and that a religious preacher has been gagged at Travancore, it seems as if the authorities have determined not to allow any kind of preaching in India. This view is confirmed by the fact that recently in Cocanada even a HARIKATHA performance was prohibited by the local offici

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th April, says:--The District Collector of Jhang in the Punjab was provoked by a Muhammadan student not saluting him when he passed by; so, he sent for the boy the very next day to his bungalow. When the student went there, he was teriibly afraid that some heavy punishment would be inflicted upon him and so he apologised mostx humbly to the European officer for the fault committed by him on the previous day. But the latter would not be content even with this, and wrote to the headmaster of the school, in which he was studying, to give the boy eleven cuts with the cane before all the students of the school and to warn him that his scholarship would be withheld if he committed the mistake again. The headmaster carried out the instructions of the Collector to the letter. ~~The headmaster carried out the instructions of the Collector to the letter.~~ This occurrence has engaged the people of the town and naturally so, for what other injustice can there be than giving eleven cuts for not wishing a White? We have not heard till now the wise rule that he only is a good man who bows to the whites and carries their shoes and that he is a bad man who does not care for them!

"Eleven cuts for not wishing a White."

25. With reference to the recent strike of the telegraph signallers at Calcutta, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 11th April, remarks:-

The Telegraph strike.

We are afraid that this strike will not come to a speedy end, for, it is not without valid reasons that the signallers have struck work. The nature of their work is such that they have to do it standing all the time and converting nights into days. They cannot afford to turn this side of that when they are doing their work. Such being the case, if they are treated like the coolies in a railway station and asked to work for eight hours at a stretch, naturally they get vexed with it. Will this not make them think that the Government is a very hard master to serve and will

this not in turn make them prefer resigning their appointments to holding them with such hard restrictions? It is the duty of the Director-General to understand all this and take steps to allay the discontent. When he does not realise this and is issuing new orders every minute, should not the Government of India at least come in to save the situation? But even the latter has not done it and the result is that the dailies are not getting their telegrams regularly. Not only, this even big merchants are feeling the difficulty. But this should not last long. Though the MADRAS MAIL is glad to note that Madras has not joined this strike, we think it will only be a question of time. Therefore, it is very necessary that the Government of India should forthwith adopt measures to redress the grievances of the signallers and restore telegraph work to its normal level.

Temperance work at Poona

28. The ~~HINDU~~ India, of the 18th April, writes:--Srijut Tilak and Gokhale have been trying for the last few days to push their temperance work into the interior of the City of Poona, and, in accordance with their instructions, the temperance volunteers were, on Sunday the 5th instant, standing near an arrack shop and advising the people not to indulge in drink. This naturally attracted some attention and soon a crowd gathered in the place. This reached the ears of Mr. Anderson, the Faringhee District Magistrate of Poona, who repaired to the place and tried his best to dissuade the youngsters from preaching there; but even with the help of a large police force to back him, he was not able to disperse the crowd. So he at once ordered the two volunteers to be arrested and they were accordingly taken to the police station. This seems queer indeed! If we point out the vicious results of drink why should the Government intervene? If Europeans happen to be drunkards, should we also blindly follow them? To-day it has been held to be a crime to advise people not to drink. To-morrow it may be made an offence to advise people against murder. It may be that all these vices appear virtues in the eyes of Government,

and is it therefore necessary that we shold obey its orders without a murmur? Are not our brethren yet disgusted with this sort of life?

29. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th April, says:--We can boldly assert that events would not have taken the same turn that they have now done, if the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly had been an Indian; for the English are not only foreigners, but are also arrogant and reserved in their conduct towards the Indians, and this makes it impossible for them to understand what is passing in the minds of the Indians. No doubt, on ordinary occasions, the administration of the district is carried on smoothly enough with the help of the native subordinates; but when an emergency occurs, the English official finds himself stranded and naturally acts upon the words of every Indian official who is ready to preach against his countrymen, and there are only too many of such officials among us. The English officials never care to gauge the situation aright, since they have the confidence that the Government, which is comprised only of their own countrymen, will never view their conduct harshly even if they happen to commit faults. Experience also goes to confirm this conviction on their part; for, which English official, however low his position may be, has been till now punished for a mistake committed by him? If, perchance, his mistake is of such a serious nature that the Government has to take notice of it, he is censured secretly and transferred to another place, in most cases on a promotion. But if the District Magistrate happens to be an Indian, he will not only be able to understand the popular feelings aright and guard against any possible mischief, but also will not boldly commit blunders in the administration of his district for fear that the Government will not be as partial to him as to its English servants. There is also another advantage in the District Magistrate being an Indian. He will not have the same sympathy

The District Magistrate must be an Indian.

for the European merchants of the place that an English official may naturally have and he will not therefore go beyond his powers to help their trade, as has happened at Tinnevelly. All these clearly show how it is ~~xxx~~ necessary that the officials who conduct the administration of the county must be our own countrymen Another instance may also be quoted to prove the truth that it is only sympathy and not high handed officialdom, that will always preserve the peace of the country. Recently there was a serious riot between the Punjab and the Tamilian coolies at the Kolar Gold Mines and the Police even fired empty shots in the air to firghten the rioters. But soon the District Magistrate arrived on the scene and after patiently hearing the words of both parties, promised to make an enquiry, and this appeased the rioters who at once went back to their work. As a result of the enquiry, five men on either side were tried and punished, and the Government has also promised to remove the causes of dissention between the two classes. Compare the conduct of this District Magistrate with that of Messrs.Wynch and Ashe of Tinnevelly! Did the latter peaceably confer with the people for even five minutes? Was not Mr.Wynch quietly sleeping in his bungalow when the rioters were committing havoc in the town and was it not after everything had calmed down that he sallied forth into the town and ordered the shooting of innocent passers-by? Our brethren in Tinnevelly are now suffering for the incapability of the District officials. Four men have lost their lives; many families have been left in the lirch, their managers ~~xxxx~~ having been remanded to custody; and many honest people are being treated with indignity. Add to all this, a punitive Police force has also been quartered on them and they have to pay thousands towards the maintenance of the same. Will all these have happened if the District Magistrate had been an Indian? Surely not.

32. Mr. P. Viriah Pantulu, B.A., B.L., a correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 3rd May, writes:--In countries where the power of the people begins to assert itself, the mischief of despotic Governments causes increased commotion. Despotic authorities get into trouble, as the people try to overcome their internal differences and get united, influenced by SWADESHISM, boycott and national education. Some despotic Governments are carried on entirely by sword, and some others depend on trade and internal differences among their subjects.

"Evil acts of arbitrary authorities."

Many obstacles are thrown in the way of national education. The secret proceedings of the police are very horrible. As laws become rigid and punishments severe, the number of patriots is on the increase, and all the classes are moved by patriotism to the great uneasiness of the arbitrary authorities. It is inconceivable why SWARAJ cannot be attained if the people are moved by a desire for education and if the vow of SWADESHISM is observed with the help of boycott."

34. SUMMARY. The NAVAYUGA, of the 7th May. By bombs intended for Mr.Kingsford, the District judge at Muzaffarpur two European women were killed - Discovery of a bomb making factory - Thirty men were arrested - what is the cause of their being engaged in this work? Wicked actions of the Government to kill the national movement. It has assumed several forms - The Government attempt to suppress it by means of oppressive measure of legislation - Opression as in Russia has not succeeded in suffering the movement - The Indians are bent upon securing justice and freedom of self. War has commenced for attaining these two. The Feringhees declare that oppression caused by them is just, and opposition by the people is wicked; their liberty and previleges are proper, and ~~poison the mind of the Government against the people. The Native~~

Indian National Calamity

the people's desire for independence is seditious - The Anglo-Indian papers poison the mind of the Government against the people. The Native papers advise them not to commit any wicked act. Government has not yet adopted any policy. There can be no peace in the land so long as the Government fail to do away with the mischievous Arms Act, vexations, punitive police, unjust taxes and Statutes and partial policy in the administration of justice- If these are removed the India ideal of Swaraj would be realised successfully in a harmless manner.

Temperance preaching opposed by Government officers.

35. The NADEGANNADI, of the 9th May, says: It appears that young men go about preaching temperance in the streets in the district of Belgaum, and that they are dragged to the Court for this. Let the Englishmen in England be proud of the doings of their countrymen in India! This is one way of promoting loyalty in India.

Remarks on the Gudalur case

36. An editorial note in the MANORAMA, of the 8th May, referring to a recent case in which Mr.Andrew, an European planter, was fined Rs.15 for causing the death, at Gudalur, of one Ali, a cartman, regards the punishment as ridiculously inadequate, and says that if the parties implicated were in the reverse order, the said place would have already had a punitive police quartered upon it by this time.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

39. The HINDU NESAN, of the 30th March, writes:--Perhaps the European merchants of Tuticorin think that they can sonn hope to kill the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company, now that Mr.Chidambaram Pillai has been pinioned in jail. But let them understand that hundreds and thousands of men like Chidambaram Pillai are now to come forward and that the SWADESHI Company cannot be killed until the last life in Tuticorin ceases to be. The people will not give up their SWADESHI spirit simply because some youngsters have been shot and about a hundred people have been arrested. The Indians are a people who have learnt not to attach any value to this transient life and its pleasures, ~~gixxmg~~ and so the revolvers and prisons of the whites will not terrify them into giving up their present spirit. The whites are acting without understanding this phase of the Indian character, and one day their acts may redound upon their own heads; but never will the SWADESHI spirit die. Hail! SWADESHI, hail!

Hail! SWADESHI, hail!

40. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th April, says:--A Muhammadan cooly has been shot down by a a European Engineer in Allipore for having asked for his wages. Not only this, the revolver, when it went off, also struck a cooly girl who was standing by the side of the Muhammadan. This case was tried by the Sessions Judge of Allipore and the punishment was that the European Engineer should give Rs.100 to the Muhammadan and Rs.50 to the father of the cooly girl. Hundreds are cases that have till now gone before the courts of law, accusing Europeans of having killed or shot or beat the Indians. But not even in one case has the accused been sentenced to imprisonment. Every one of them had to pay only a paltry fine of five or ten rupees to get out of the clutches of law. But these five or ten rupees are nothing for the Europeans who amass fortunes by their Indian trade. So, it has come to be that

The whites and the Indians.

a European can, with impunity, wound or kill any Indian.

On the same subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th April, writes.--The British were vaunting that they were the most lawful people in the world, and the people too believed in it, But it has now been made clear that they do not care for the law when their own conduct is concerned; for numerous are the instances in which the whites have tortured the Indians with impunity and the recent treatment of a village postmaster in the Jhelum district in the Punjab by a European Doctor only adds a fresh case to this long list. It seems the postmaster was taking his meals when the Doctor's peon came to take his master's letter, and naturally there was some delay; the white could not brook even this and at once ran to the Post Office and thrashed and kicked the postmaster for delaying his peon. Till now, these whites were only in the habit of beating servants and coolies; but now they have begun to assault even the native officials like stationmasters and postmasters. We are ourselves ashamed to detail the way in which the subordinates are treated in a Collector's office. With all this, some wily whites cry out that the Indians are not loyal! Not only this; they have also newly added a section to the Indian Penal Code to punish those who create ill-feeling between two classes, and it seems as if this was done to punish only the Indians, for, the whites do not seem to be bound by it. This is how British justice is administered!

Mr. Yorke on SWADESHI.

41. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th April, writes:--At a recent meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, Mr. A. J. Yorke, of the Chamber of Commerce, said that the view that Europeans were against SWADESHI was belied by the fact, that the majority of the European companies in India were joint stock companies in which the Indians were also allowed to take as many shares as they wanted and that consequently there was nothing to prevent the Indians taking a larger number of shares and thus acquiring a

material interest in the affairs of these companies. But we are sorry, this is just the reverse of what ~~affairsxofxthes takingx~~ actually obtains here. As a matter of fact, the Indians are wilfully excluded from taking any shares in European companies. Thus, can the Indians have shares in the British India Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin or the Cotton Mills at Papanasam? Did not the Europeans at the latter place delude the Indians into selling away even the few shares they had taken at the outset? Have they one Indian on the Board of Directors of the Madras Bank, even though a large number of Indians have deposited their money in it? Almost all of these companies are formed in London and naturally all their Directors are chosen in London. So where is there room for an Indian to be a Director? The Europeans do not allow one of their class to be even a Manager of an Indian firm for fear that he may teach the secrets of trade to the Indians. Are these the people to allow the Indians to have the control of the European firms? Knowing all these, Mr.Yorke has made the statement that the European are not against the SWADESHI? The Europeans solicitude for the well-being of the Indians is too well known for us to be lured by the words of Mr.Yorke.

The present state of Tinnevely

42. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th April, observes:--We learn that the Secretary and a Councillor of the Tinnevelly Municipality threatened two students of the Hindu College to give evidence against Mr.Loganatha Aiyar, a teacher of that college. It appears this matter was reported by the students to the Principal, who in turn brought it to the notice of the Collector. If this is true, we do not know what to say of the municipal administration of Tinnevelly! The public of Tinnevelly were already enraged at the illegal acts of the officials of the place; and we never ~~brought~~ Thought that the Municipal Secretary, paid from the public funds, will also join hands with the officials.

On the same subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th April, remarks:--The police have been given blank warrants to arrest whomsoever they suspect, and no wonder that many of them take advantage of this opportunity to satisfy their xpixx private grudge against particular people. It seems they pounce upon every man who cries VANDE MATARAM. What a glory for the phrase VANDE MATARAM! Many respectable men of the town have left it for the suburbs, owing to the misdeeds of Police. Excellent, indeed, is the administration of Sir Arthur Lawley! The authorities are to tease the people by an arbitrary use of their powers and if the latter resent it, they are to be imprisoned and gagged and a punitive Police force is to be quartered on them. Perhaps this is Sir Arthur Lawley&s statesmanship!'

Mr.Morley and the House of Lords.

43. The INDIA, of the 18th April observes:--Mr.Morley is a disciple of Mr.Gladstone who twice rejected the title of Lord offered by Queen Victoria. But in his seventieth year, Mr.Morley has taken a step by which he has cast all his life principles to the winds and this only proves the decline of the moral strength of the British as a nation. Again, when we go into the motives that actuated Mr.Morley to enter the House of Lords, our dislike for the British statesman is only increased. It seems he took the step to be spared from the necessity of answering numberless questions about India in the House of Commons. Surely, Mr.Morley must be ashamed to give suitable answers to the various questions asked, seeing that India is administered now on Russian methods. Otherwise, if the Indian administration is conducted on sound principles, why should Mr.Morley xixk fight xs shy of the questions put to him? But he need not have any such fear now, for, he has entered a Council, the members of which only waste their time in the idle gossip. This fact was recognised by persons like Llyod George who were fighting to remove this Council altogether. Even Mr.Morley was of the same opinion till he got into the mire himself. XXX From the time he became the Secretary of State

for India, he has proved false to many maxims laid down by him previous to that. But his somersault into the House of Lords is the best he has performed till now. No British statesman could have expected him to take this step. But the proverb that folly always precedes destruction can never prove false.

The SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin.

44. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th April, says:--Our readers may remember that the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin were running only two steamers till now. They have now arranged to buy another. The whites there thought that the SWADESHI Company could be driven out of existence by incarcerating Srijut Chidambaram Pillai and bringing security cases against Mr. Venkataraman Aiyar and others. But man proposes and God disposes. Thus, instead of its being crushed altogether, the SWADESHI Company is growing in strength as a result of these occurrences. For instance, it was earning only Rs.700 per diem before; but its present income is not less than Rs.2,000 a day. Not only this, even the traders of that place have determined to ship their articles only by this company.

The Indian immigrants into the Colonies.

45. A correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th April, writes:--Recently about 3,354 Indian coolies were taken from Natal to work on the Bengala Railway line in Portuguese West Africa. To reach their destination these travelled by ship for some distance, by railway for some more and had even to walk it out for nearly 150 miles. After all this trouble, they have been taken to a place which is only 800 miles from the equator and in which there is no water for 10 miles round. Even this is of a dirty and oily kind and not fit to be taken in; but the heat of the place was so intense that the coolies began to clamour for water and this was the only water to be had.

So this was brought on the backs of camels and distributed to the coolies in small quantities. The bad quality of the water soon began to tell upon the health of the poor Indians and added to this, the insufficiency of the supply of provisions led to nearly a thousand dying within the first three months and another thousand followed suit within the next seven months. All the same, the whites who took these Indians to this desert place had the best materials supplied to them from distant parts and so were living happily. Even the European Doctor at the place attended only upon the whites and never cared for the Indians at all. Thus the poor Indian coolies had to die in that horrid place, uncared for, whether they liked it or not. Many ran away to villages about 100 miles from the place and sold their children to the Kaffirs or the Dutch. Many again died on the way not being able walk even that distance. Besides these, about 400 coolies have been brought over to Durban by steamer, and the sight of these ~~people~~ emancipated skeletons is enough to bring tears into ~~ine's~~ one's eyes. About 600 people have still been left at that place alone, with none to look after them. Of ~~course,~~ These many seem to be invalids and many again disabled by illness or accident. In this condition, these would also willingly have come overto Natal; but this Government would not allow it and the result is they are rotting in a place where they have neither food nor water. Brethren! Now at least, do you see the fate of the Indians who emigrate to the Colonies? Look at the way in which the white Protector of Indian Immigrants is discharging his duty.' The Indian immigrants into the Colonies must be either sent back to India after their terms of agreement are over or allowed to remain in the Colonies; but we cannot see why this God of Protection permitted them to be taken to a foreign possession like Portugal! To which Government are we to appeal against the maltreatment of the Indians who are British subjects by the British themselves and that under British rule?

7 On the same subject, a correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th April, observes:--Though it is the duty of the

Corporation of Durban in Natal to look to the sanitation of all the suburbs of that town, it has long been neglecting this duty wantonly in the case of the Indians. The places where the Indian employees of this Corporation live are not at all fit for human habitation. They are surrounded by marshy lands and form the receptacle of all the rubbish of the town. In point of cleanliness, not even a PARACHERY can be as bad as these places. Even when any epidemic breaks out it is the town and not the suburbs, especially those that are occupied by the Indians, that get benefit of the disinfecting process. Even if the Corporation is not able to improve the sanitation of the present habitations of the Indians, it can, at least, build fresh houses or provide for locating them elsewhere and it has not made any attempt even in this direction. But there is a rumour that all the Indians in the Corporation are to be replaced by Europeans and perhaps the Corporation will then think of locating their employees in convenient and healthy quarters. Let it dismiss all the Indians from its service; let it even replace the four-legged black asses which now draw the rubbish carts by two-legged white asses; but our contention is why the sanitation of the quarters inhabited by the Indians should not be improved, at least till that time comes. Perhaps the Protector of Indian Immigrants, who is paid thousands for looking after the welfare of the Indians in the Colonies, has not eyes to see the present condition of the Indian habitations!

"Boycott is our only weapon and in union lies our strength

46. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th April, writes:--Boycott has come to be recognised as a universal weapon of retaliation whenever one nation suffers any loss at the hands of another. Thus, for instance, there was recntly a rub between China and Japan in connection with a steamer, and this was settled in a way by the Governments of both the countries. But still the Chinese people did not like the settlement come to and to pay Japan in her own coin, resolved to boycott everything Japanese. The effect of this

boycott is already being felt, as is seen by the fact that for 730 Chinese passengers who were booked by the Japanese steamer in the previous week, only 20 embarked after this resolution was come to. When compared with the Chinese, the Indians are not only less in numbers, but also more dependent upon the nation which is riding hard over them, and it is therefore all the more necessary that they should adopt the weapon of boycott. Also, this is the only weapon we can use, for we are not strong enough to win our cause by force of arms. But for using this weapon successfully, we must have union, and in union lies our strength. The whites may tease us now; but how long can they continue it? It may be possible for them to trump up false charges against some people and tease them for the present; but if all of us unite and with one mind boycott everything foreign, all their strength cannot shake out determination in the least. This has been clearly illustrated recently by the fact that after the incarceration of Chidambaram Pillai and others, the profits of the SWADESHI Company of Tuticorin have gone up leaps and bounds, and why? Because all our brethren hxxx there resolved EN MASSE to ship their articles only by the SWADESHI Company. Thus, we can doubtless gain every one of our objects if we only unite. When a good time is dawning on India by the Divine grace, can the enmity of a few mean people impede it?

Hatred between Europeans and Indians.

50. The NADEGANNADI, of the 9th May, says that the hatred between Europeans and Indians is daily growing and cites cases in which it is manifested from the papers of a single week. It also remarks that there is a widespread belief that the policemen who oppress the people and commit crimes are let off without punishment and that the Government is suspicious of the Indian officers of the Police and think that the latter side with their countrymen."

51. A leader in the Manorama, of the 8th May, referring at large to the bomb outrage at Mozaffar pur and the subsequent unravelling of an anarchist plot at Calcutta, observes that it cannot be forgotten that the manifold benefits to India are the consequences of judicious administration of the country by our Gracious King Emperor, but an error in the policy of the administration has, it is true, from time to time, brought some slur on the administration which the people have the right and the liberty to criticize; and such liberty, if abused to such evil ends, will suffer either a curtailment or even total provocation and the Government cannot be found fault with for doing so. The article condemns in strong terms the misguided and shortsighted conduct of the hairbrained youths now under the arrest, and is surprised to see persons who have received the western education implicated in this nefarious programme. Unholy and extremely imprudent acts like these will only tend to engender a feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction between the rulers and the ruled and will not in any way conduce to the happiness of the latter. What good can India derive from the killing of two or three officials? If it is hoped to drive the English out and to attain SWARAJ by means of these dastardly actions, eggregious folly cannot go further. The whole of India will have to rue the fiendish deeds of these few vagabonds. If an officer is killed, there is another ready to step into his place. It is not so easy to do away with the post itself. Such being the case, what should be said of the perpetrators of these cowardly atrocities. We cannot help saying that we consider these misguided and blind men, who by their atrocious deeds bring misery to the Indian Nation as a whole, as rank anarchists.

Bomb outrages in Bengal

For the week ending 16th May 1908.

No. 20 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

King Cheetah's Court.

1. The LIBERAL, of the 10th May, published the following:--

"SCENE I.

"KING CHEETAH ON THE THRONE.

"ENTER.--A carriage driver (agrrieved subject, and Professor Chrome Tan in custody).

"INJURED SUBJECT.--Justice Most Gracious Majesty! As I was driving on your highway this pretended philanthropist got down his cycle and broke his riding cane on my body and he confesses Sir King.

"KING CHEETAH.--Here guards, leave off the prisoner and give him a chair.

"TO PROF. CHROME TAN.--What says thou to the accusation?

"Prof.C.T. SEATED.--It is true I raised my cane and aimed at the rascal, but it struck the shaft of the cart and it broke. Here, Sir, is the broken cane.

"KING CHEETAH.--I really don't believe the cart driver's story nor are his witnesses reliable, but you have pleaded guilty I have to fine you. I am so sorry. Pay Rs.3.

"CHROME TAN (aside).--An I had known this I would never have confessed. Damn me.

SCENE II.

"ENTER ANOTHER SUBJECT (A MERCHANT) WITH HIS COUNSEL AND A PLANTER.

"SUBJECT.--May it please Your Majesty,--I am one of your trusted merchants. I have been foully libelled by this arrogant planter. Render me justice.

"KING CHEETAH.--Dare you complain against my own flesh and blood. Have it compromised.

"PLANTER TO SUBJECT.--Pay me my expenses and a hundred rupees for pains.

"SUBJECT.--I would rather have King Cheetah's justice. Sir King, we have not compromised, pray give me justice.

"KING C.xxI (to planter).--Do you admit this libellous letter?

"PLANTER .-- I do.

"KING C.--I donot believe the evidence. Counsel, can't I acquit him though he pleads guilty?

"COUNSEL.--I cannot find authority Sir King.

"KING C.-- I do not think complainant suffers damage. But as the planter pleads guilty I must convict Planter, pay down a fine of Rs.10.

"PLANTER (aside).--Rather cheap. I should hit the whole brood of them at that price.

SCENE III.

"ENTER A CORPSE BORNE BY FOUR BLACKMEN AND A WHITEMAN IN CUSTODY.

"ALL BLACKMEN TOGETHER.--Justice, Sir King. Retribution for murder.

"KING CHEETAH.--Nonsense. It is a pure accident. (To thexwh whiteman) What do you say?

"WHITEMAN.--I plead guilty to assault only.

"KING C.--Do you? But the death is certainly an accident. (Aside). He deserves to be fined for his stupidity. Londder-- I adjudge that the accused do pay a fine of Rs.15 and that the Police officer, who investigated the case, be departmentally punished.

SCENE IV.

"ENTER A LADY WITH DISHEVELLED DRESS? A TAHSILDAR AS A WITNESS AND AN EX-SOLDIER IN POLICE CUSTODY.

"KING CHEETAH (aside).--Another whiteman in custody. It is intolerable. I must put a stop to this.

"LADY.--Is there no justice in this land? I cannot tell my story. Your trusted servant here will describe my wrongs..

"TAHSILDAR HANDING A COMPLAINT.--Outrage, my lord, on a respectable native lady in a railway compartment.

"KING CHEETAH.--I cannot believe your story. Why did you not bring the railway porter? No European woudd make love to such

stout woman.

"LADY (aside).--Am I stout? But are there no stout woman amongst them?

"KING CHEETAH.--What are you muttering, but I am not going to fine you for frivolous complaint, for I think it is due to an error of fact. The prisoner was in your compartment but you misunderstood him.

"ENTER KING'S ADVOCATE RECENTLY APPOINTED.

"What a profound judge. A Daniel come to judgment."

2. The following is published in the "INDIAN TELEGRAMS" columns of the Hindu, of the 12th May 1908:--

The bomb outrages in Bengal.

"DEVELOPMENT AT KHOOLNA.

"A HOSPITAL ASSISTANT'S SON ARRESTED.

"CALCUTTA, MAY 11.--A Khoolna wire of yesterday's date says:- A Muhammadan detective from Calcutta came here this morning with instructions from the authorities and assisted by District Superintendent of Police, Inspector Bhowani Charam Nandi and a POSSE of Sub-Inspectors and constables surrounded the house of Prasanna Kumar Sarkar, Hospital Assistant, at 7 A.M. in connection with the MUZZAFFARPUR Bomb outrage Case. Every nook and corner of his house was ransacked but nothing was taken away except some private letters. Prasanna Babu's son, Sudhir Kumar, was arrested under section 121, Indian Penal Code. He was all cheerful and found to be freely talking with the Police officers without the least indication of nervousness. His father was a little overpowered, but he consoled him. The search lasted three hours. Sudhir will be taken to Calcutta by night under Police custody. He has not been handcuffed.

"RAID ON THE NATIONAL SCHOOL.

"At about 3-30 p.m. Nandalal Bose, District Superintendent of Police, Jessore, and Inspector Bhabani with a large number

of Sub-Inspectorsx and constables made a raid upon the local National school and surrounded the compound. They sent a messenger to the Headmaster who, on going there, stick attracted the attention of the District Superindent of Police, who took it in his hands and asked him if he x could play LATHI.

"'It is my misfortune.' answered the Headmaster, 'that I am quite ignorant of LATHI play'.

"You can make a good 'fortune' rejoined the District Superintendent of Police with a laugh.

"The Headmaster then wanted to see the search warrant which being shown him, he opened the school premises. A scrutinising search was then made, the Police greedily devouring every bit that was there. Even question papers were not excepted, but to the utter disappointment of the Police, nothing of suspicious character was found. The admission register was carried away as it contained the name of Bejoy Kumar, some time a student of the National School, and who has been arrested in Calcutta in connection with the Bomb Outrage Case. When the Police were going away, one of them was heard to mutter with a melancholy face, 'nothing found;' A constable is keeping watch over the Headmaster's house.

"A Midnapore correspondent writes under the date the 10th instant:--On Monday last, the day after the several searchs in the town of Midnapore, three Police officers, at the head of about a score of constables went to search the country house of Babu Upendra Nath Ghosh, pleader. The town residence of Upendra Babu was searched by the Police along with other searched on Sunday. The police seized in the course of the search in the country house only an old- worn-out handcuff.

"TWO AMUSING INCIDENTS.

"Two very amusing incidents occurred during the search when the door of parlour house of Upendra Babu was opened. The police discovered right in front of them something like a huge cannon. They were startled with fear and hesitated to proceed for some time, but at last with great caution, and circumspect steps, they approached the object and discovered to their utter surprise that

the object of their terror was nothing but a wooden elephant's head with trunk outstretched. The second amusing discovery was a heavy dumb-bell stowed away in a corner of a verandah among straws which the Police mistook for shells, and was not little affected with fear. The house of Upendra Babu was uninhabited at the time of search, and the Police broke open the rooms and left the zamindari papers in most hopeless confusion scattering them about the rooms.

"AN INTERVIEW INTERDICTED.

Babu Upendra Nath Ghosh, father of Jog Jiban Ghosh, one of the prisoners and a student of first-year, class of Mindnapore College, in company with Mr.P.K.Bose, Bar-at-Law saw Mr.Cornish, Superintendent of Police, in his house and in his last visit he was granted permission to see his son in jail hazut, but on Friday last, as Upendra Nath Babu was coming out, the jailor told him what the Magistrate had ordered to stop the interviews with the prisoners and so he should not come any more.

"HELP FOR P RISONERS.

"The members of the local bar are rendering all possible help and advice to friends and relative of the prisoners; town is agog with sensational rumours and every one feels insecure.

" A JAILOR TRANSFERRED.

"The jailor of Muzaffarpur jail, a Bengali gentleman, has been transferred by telegraphic order for reasons best knwon to the authorities.

"ANOTHER ZAMINDAR'S HOUSE RAIDED.

"On Sunday morning, Mr.Clark, District Superintendent of Police, 24 pargannas, on receiving certain information, with several police officers, and a large number of armed Police, motored to Mozilpore and surrounded the house of a certain Zamindar of the locality for the purpose of making a thorough search. The Police ordered the inmates of the house to remain where and in what state they respectively were for a couple of hours, after which, without taking any further action, they withdrew in a body.

"Babu Biji Krishna Sen Gupta writes under date 11th May:-- This morning, without any previous intimation, my house No.24 Peary Mohan Soor's Lane, was subjected to a most harassing search by a gang of Police at about 6 A.M. These two gentlemen, with about ten or twelve constables, all of a sudden entered into my house where I live with my mother, wife and children. They said that they had come to search my house under orders passed on information received by the authorities that I was manufacturing gund powders, etc., in my house, which allegation has, however, absolutely no foundation. Upon this I requested them to show me the order of warrant for search, but without paying any heed to my words, they proceeded to open my boxes, trunks, drawers, most unceremoniously and scrutinized every fold of my cloths and read every word of my letters dealing with my family matters. They even searched my store room and cook room. After a vigorous search of more than three hours having failed to find anything, they at length departed with an old copy of Pratapaditya which I had borrowed from one of my friends.

"A RAJA THREATENED WITH A SEARCH.

"It is also reported that Bengal Police on Sunday made an attempt to search the residence of a Raja at Bally in Hooghly district, but it is stated that as the Police were not able to produce a search warrant, the Raja refused to allow a search to be made."

The following appears in the "Indian Telegrams" columns of the HINDU, of the 13th May 1908:--

"THE POLICE DISCOMFITURE.

"CALCUTTA, May 12.--Last night, the Police searched the houses of Hari Das, Haldar Preonath, Bhattachary and chemist's shop in Bhowanipur. The two first named are priests of the Kali's temple. Search was not for bombs but for unlicensed arms and ammunition. No firearms were found on the premises, but the Police took away some correspondence.

"CALCUTTA NOW FULL OF SENSATION.

"CALCUTTA, May 13.--Calcutta is now full of sensation. Besides house searches arrests, the Police are busy in securing

evidence. Respectable people are feeling insecure and leaving the town. The Chief Magistrate is now very busy, for besides the bomb outrage cases, three newspaper prosecutions against the SANDHYA? YUGANTAR and BANDE MATARAM ~~ARE-ON-THE~~ are on the his file. The case against the first two newspapers are being daily heard."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) Genral.

"The ideal of SWARAJ"

4. Adverting to the concessions granted by the foreign Government regarding self-government, the SWARAJ, of the 14th May, observes:--"The political rights conferreed by Government acted as bribes to the leaders of the people and tended to their self-aggrandizement while the people's power waned. The advocates of the new movement do not admit that the political rights granted by the foreigners would improve the power of the people, or that the foreigners are actuated by feelings of kindness. It is a mad delusion to expect them to grant independence. What is gain to England is loss to us, and our gain is loss to them. As the administration and commerce of the country are in the hands of foreigners, it is easy for them to improve their strength and akill. The visiting of foreign countries governed by the people themselves has implanted in our hearts the ideal of SWARAJ".

"India's national calamity"

5. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 10th May, observes:--"The Indians have learnt at last that the chief object of the foreign Government is to get some benefit from the ruled and not to see them benefited. This knowledge has manifested at one time in boycott and at another time in the SWARAJ movement. Lala Lajpat Rai said that if we adopt rash measures and do such secret acts as Lord

Curzon has done in effecting the partition of Bengal, and if we have recourse to such schemes as are planned by the officials in setting up one community against another, it would lead to danger, and the people could not be kept under control, if they were once awakened. If, therefore, the power of the people were respected by the Government as in England, it would not do any harm. If, on the other hand, cruel measures were adopted and the power of the people disregarded it might cause great danger to the Government and produce evil results as in Russia."

"Race-hatred"

6. Adverting to the quarrel between Professor Anett(?) and Mr.Ramaranjana Simha, an overseer attached to the agricultural farm of the Pusa Agricultural College, which ended by the latter beating the former and shoving him out from the farm with the help of the gardeners, the same paper observes:--"It is inexplicable why these Feringhees, who escape with slight punishments even if they kick, beat or ~~xxdxx~~ murder natives, should make so much fuss over the blows dealt with the fist. No people are actuated by such feelings of race-hatred as the Feringhees. They care a straw for the lives of the Indians. The cause of all this is our patience. But the example of the Ramaranjan indicates the change that is passing over India. Good examples like this will undoubtedly keep the mischief of the FERINGHEES within proper limits."

"A comparison"

7. Referring to the proclamation of Queen-Victoria issued on the occasion of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown in 1858, declaring that no distinction of colour, class or wealth would be observed, the BHAVANI, of the 8th May, writes:--" "It is only this promise that created in the minds of the Indians confidence in the British, and deluded them into self-forgetfulness

But these sweet words were not acted upon in practice. Posts of great responsibility are conferred on white men even when they are under twenty years of age. Intelligent Indians qualified by their attainments in English and high intellectual talents, ax rarely get such posts. White men are kindly treated even while undergoing punishment in prison for offences amounting to homicide. If black men are sentenced to similar punishment, they must suffer very much. The white men have cots, superior clothes, and good rice. They are given little or no work, and are sent to the hospital if a little unwell. Whereas, the blackmen have fetters, ragi, and old rags, and they are given heavy and difficult work. If overtaken by disease, they have to die without any treatment. They are further spoken to insinuatingly and flogged on the 'triangle'."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"Origin of bombs"

8. Adverting to the bomb outrages in Bengal, the NAVAYUGA, of the 14th May, observes:--"It is our firm opinion that this calamity has happened owing to the Government's approval of the writings in the Feringhee papers and their disregard of public opinion. We can infer that the bad treatment and hostile attitude shown by the Government to the citizens of Comilla, Jamalpur, and Mymensingh and the injury caused to their property, lives, and honour by stationing Gurkhas in those places made it impossible for them to have any domestic peace. If the people could use arms they themselves would have checked the misdeeds of the Gurkhas. It is to be believed that the people in this miserable condition had prompted the perpetrators of these outrages to have recourse to them. Further, horrible actions such as the deportation of two of the sons of the country, the enactment of laws against holding public meetings, and the prosecution of newspapers devoted to nationalism, would have infused more spirit into these heroic persons. The Moderates, who greatly deceive the Government by not representing the true state of

affairs to them, are, to some extent, responsible for these outrages. The remedy for all this consists in the repeal of the Arms Act. If the Arms Act were repealed, the manufacture of bombs and shot would come to an end. But where are the courageous statesmen who will do so? Certainly, there are none in India. Even in England there are no noble people who can advocate the repeal of the Arms Act."

Bomb outrages.

9. Adverting to the bomb outrages in Bengal, the DESABHIMANI, of the 9th May, observes:--"It is thought that unless some well-to-do persons were connected in this business costing as it does lakhs of rupees, it could not have not been carried out. Leaving aside the question whether p the persons connected with such misdeeds are to blame or not, and pondering overwhat might have prompted the Bengalees to such deeds, we believe that it is the exercise of unlimited authority by the Government officials that has provoked the people. It is a matter of experience that nobody would be engaged in actions which tell open his own life as well as others' lives, unless there should be excessive annoyance and vexation. We believe that the attempts made by the responsible Secretary of State and the Governor-General under the advice of their subordinates to check the aspirations of the people, are probably the cause of despair on the part of the people. Certainly they must be the real cause. It is our belief that the country would not have been reduced to the present troublous condition, had the resolutions of the Indian National Congress on behalf of self-government been respected by the Government."

10. SUMMARY. The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 8th May. Cruel deeds by bomb and shot are un Indian-

Present state of affairs.

They are opposed to our civilization and our religious principles. These are the xxxx accompaniments of Western civilization and Western Government. The perpetrators of these cruel acts deserve to be punished sternly - But mere punishment does not eradicate terrible outrages like this completely. The cause that has given birth to them must be discovered and rooted out. Why have the Indians who are characteristically mild adopt the cult of the bomb? It is only on account of the cruel measures adopted by the bureaucratic government for suppressing the SWADESHI that these young men committed these horrible deeds and emboldened to make confessions.

11. The SWARAJ, of the 14th May, observes:--"From the bold actions of our Bengal brethren,

"Disturbances at Calcutta"

we can understand the magnitude of the mischief done by the English. Some of the editors of our native papers are vilifying the assassinators of the Feringhees to their hearts' content. There is nothing more despicable than our countrymen vilifying our nation against their conscience, out of fear of the Penal Code enacted by the Feringhees and out of regard for the feelings of the officials. What wonder is there if some good-natured persons, inspired with enthusiasm, should try to retaliate on the English who throw obstacles at every step? O, Lord Curzon! You said that discontent in India was superficial resting on the suf surface of the society. Are these all the intrigues of the educated men only? Are they due to the promptings of those who failed to get high posts? O, Lord Minto! Did unrest cease with the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai? Were you able to put down newspapers and check preachers? Can your new laws satisfy the Extremists? Did you think that the Aryans bent on the knowledge of self would be checked by your restrictions? Do not fear, consider calmly. Does not discontent affect the life of the society? If it is only skin-deep, why did you not write

to Lord Minto to wash it with soap? 'Varna Babu' (Birendranath Ghose).' You acted very valiantly. You cannot but suffer your fate. Still by your confession you have confirmed the fact that your nation is noted for justice and truth. Your righteousness has borne fruit, and your life has accomplished its object."

The disturbances in Bengal

12. The NADEGANADDI, of the 15th May, after giving a translation of a passage which the ENGLISHMAN newspaper alleges to be a queotation from the YUGANTAR paper and which is a call to the people to be ready to sacrifice their lives, remarks thus:--These words are really heart-rending. Though we cannot believe that the whole of Bengal is thus prepared to sacrifice themselves at the altar of death there is no doubt that like the few Bengalee youths who prepared the bombs and tried to use them against the Europeans there are a good many who have been driven to desperation and are ready to to fall like moths into the flame. Now, is it possible that the mind of the Bengalees has thus been roused without any cause? Their wrongs must really be great to drive them to such despair. The Government is occupied only in thinking of the bomb outrages and does not care to know what mighty causes have made the people to rate their lives so cheap. Such is the policy of the Government at the present day.

The same paper gives the translation of an article from the ASIAN in which it is suggested that the Police should be made to search every home in Bengal for arms of any kind, backed, if necessary, by British troops, and remarks thereon thus:-- Let the Government follow this advice and search every house in every town and village from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, we can only say that such a course would be disgraceful to the British Government itself. Such foolish ideas never occur to a ruling power for nothing (unless that power is ixx in extremis).

Referring to the suggestion of the Anglo-Indian papers that the vernacular press should be gagged the same paper says:--WE have one remark to make with regard to this. It is foolish to

expect popularity by silencing criticism. It is impossible to punish the people and at the same time to please them, Violent criticism of Government is common everywhere. But if a few impatient men are affected by it, is the whole country harassed in this manner? The Government can never expect that their work would become easy if the liberty of the press is curtailed. Although the English have been in the country for nearly three centuries they have failed to understand the people and they hate the Bengalees whose help has been invaluable to Government in the past. How can the Government expect peace in the land by courting the opposition of such people instead of enquiring why they have turned out its opponents?

The same paper, after expressing horror at the bomb outrages in Bengal, says:--What is past is past. In these troublous times it behoves the authorities to keep themselves cool and to pay no heed to evil advisers, but to make a patient enquiry into the causes of the whole trouble and try to remove them. If, on the other hand, the Government rely solely on their cannon and give effect to the advice of the evil minded, the loyalty of the people will be very much strained and discontent will spread everywhere. We pray Viscount Morley and Lord Minto to act wisely and humanely in regard to this country in this crisis.

The possibility of getting SWARAJ for Indians.

13. A correspondent in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 9th May, referring to the possibility of obtaining SWARAJ to Indians avers that it is not probable that England will even concede even the smallest shred of liberty much less full liberty to Indians inasmuch as such a policy would be in direct conflict with Englishmen's interest. If India get the colonial or any other form of self-government, England is well aware that Indians will at once impose a prohibitory duty on English goods in order to foster indigenous industries. After dwelling at some length on the subject, the correspondent remarks that Indians cannot hope to get any concession towards SWARAJ unless and until the Britishers are pressed on all hands to grant the same.

14. A leader in the same paper condemns in strong terms the recent bomb outrages in Bengal and the nefarious object of the secret society unearthed in Calcutta, and says that this state of affairs is due to the repressive policy inaugurated by Government to suppress the agitation x that followed the partition of Bengal. The article is of opinion that this is not a matter to be lightly treated inasmuch as many of the suspects are men who have received a liberal education. The article hopes that Government will pause and consider well the means whereby the spread of this baneful idea of anarchism--an idea dx adopted from Eruope--may be nipped in the bud. It hopes that Government will not follow the lead of Anglo-Indian pxpp papers which are ever prone to indulge in scathing and sweeping criticism of Indians, in spite of the fact that the leaders of the Indian communities have not only condemned, in unmistakable terms, the atrocious and dastardly deeds of the few misguided fanatics, but are also trying to arrest the spread of such ideas.

Remarks on the bomb outrages in Calcutta.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

15. A correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st April, writes:--I was asked by N.Nanjundappa Goundan of Avanasi to give lectures at the place about our industries and the way to revive them, in view of his attempt to open a weaving factory there. Accordingly, I addressed an audience on the 17th instant about the state of India at present and as to how xi it was only a revival our industries that would better the condition of our country and illustrated it by the fact that the present affluence of Western countries was only due to the flourishing state of their industries and manufactures. All on a sudden the Police Inspector of the place stopped my lecture, dispersed the audience, took me to the police station, treated me most insolently and left me only after taking down my name, native place, avocation, etc., and

The vagaries of the Police

warning me that I would be arrested if I preached in the place again about SWADESHI. What injustice is this? How can our country improve if the Police, who are intended by our benign Government for the good of the people, are to interfere in and block the attempts made to better the interests of the country? I write this with the motive that this uncalled for interference of the Police in harmless preachings about our industries may be brought to the notice of the higher authorities and that steps may be taken to prevent such misuse of their powers hereafter.

On this the editor of the paper says:--Our correspondent need not have cared for the words of the Inspector of Police. The Police have no right to stop meetings unless they produce a written authority from the Magistrate notifying the prohibition of public meetings in the locality. If the Police try to prevent meetings without producing any such authority, they can be conducted in spite of them. The best thing is to give a direct rebuff to the Police authorities who act illegally.

(b) Courts.

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st April, observes:--Both the Indians and the whites are equally men and so are equally liable to commit crimes; but still the law for the former is quite different in practice from the law for the latter.

Justice is not for the Indians

This is illustrated, among other instances, by a recent occurrence of Gujaranwala in the Punjab. Here a European officer, by name Stephens, was charged with the offence of having taken a bribe and the fact of his having done this was conclusively proved by about two hundred witnesses. After all the punishment inflicted upon him for this heinous crime was that he should resign his appointment! It is even rumoured that he is to be given a higher post in Burma. The special Magistrate who tried this case in his judgment says: "The accused is a well-behaved gentleman belonging to a respectable family. He is charged with having taken a bribe; but now all officials take bribes and the only fault

of this gentleman is that he has been caught. For this he should not be punished severely and so the punishment is that he should resign his appointment." What a sense of justice! In this very town an Indians was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. for having attempted to give a bribe of Rs.100 to a clerk of the Collector's office for getting him promotion. In Jullunder, an Indian clerk, was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for having taken a bribe. We are not sorry that the Indians in either case have been punished; but we are only surprised that the British sense of justice and fairplay, which is so keen in the case of Indians, falls flat before a European accused! The British Law allows noble and pure souls like Lala Lajpat Rai to be deported at any moment; but the same law whimpers to convict the worst offenders, if only their skin is white. Instead of thus making justice a farce in the case of the whites, the British will do well to add a section to the Indian Penal Code to the effect that whatever the whites may do will not amount to a crime!

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd April, reports the PUNJABEE, of Lahore, to have written as follows:--"Six months' rogorous imprisonment was the punishment inflicted on Mr.Stirling, the assistant editor of the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE, for having killed his servant. The same punishment has been recently inflicted on an Indian lad for having used indecent language towards European lady! According to the pure justice of the British, the murder of an Indian by a European is on the same level with the abuse of a European by an Indian! What doutbt is there that this equitable sense of justice will preserve the British Government for ages to come? Really the British can well be said to be incarnation of justice?

In commenting on the acquittal of the Feringhee Railway Inspector who was lately charged with having attempted to commit an indecent assault on an Indian lady travelling in a second class compartment, the INDIA, of the 25th April, writes:--The grounds given by the learned Magistrate for his conclusion that the accused was not guilty are (1) that the lady did not report

the occurrence to the stationmaster at Sankaridrug; (2) that the village munsif of Bhavani could not give evidence in her favour; and (3) that the lady herself was not so beautiful as to attract this Ferihghee. What a reasonable argumeht! Does a dog care for the flesh on the bone when bitting it? Even so, is beaxuty necessary for people who are madly running after women? Then again a train abounds with such questionable characters, and is it anywhere notified that their attempts on innocent women should be forthwith reported to the stationmaster? Even if it has been notified, how can this lady be expected to know it, What is to be done? We are under an unjust Government, which goes to any extent to protect xmen of a certain community.

(k) General.

17. The SOUTH INDIAN FRIEND, of the 16th March, observes:--

The wasteful expenditure of the Government.

"It is the land-tax paid by the poor agriculturists of India that yields the largest income to the British Government, and yet the major portionxxf of it is spent, not in the interests of the xxx, ryot, but for the benefit of the Englishmen. One of the ways in which this money is misspent is by maintaining the office in England called the Indian office, the members of xxx which are paid thousands to lounge leisurely in that office. The work turned out by them is practically nothing. Another way in which our money is wasted is by xthe maintenance of the military. The army in India is not maintained, either for our protection or for waging war with any strong neighbouring Power, but only tokeep up the prestige of England and to give employment to many Englishmen. For example, a portion of this army is staioned in Canada and we pay for its maintenance? Thus our money isbeing squandered in various directions and any amount of protestation from us does not make the Government alter its ways. All this money will remain in India if she acquires SWARAJ, andwe do not know when we will have the good fortune to get it."

18. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd April, says:-- News has

The authorities and the temperance movement.

already been published about the arrest of the temperance volunteers at Poona and a prohibiton of their preaching near liquor shops. Subsequently the members of the temperance committee waited on the District Magistrate and tried to convince him of the justness of their cause, but all to no purpose. The net result of this conference has been that he has made an order under section 144 of the Criminal Law Procedure Code prohibiting all interference with the frequenters of toddy shops. The reason assigned for this order is that the action of the volunteers will reduce the income of the toddy shops which will in its turn tell upon the abkari revenue of the Government. What a rational argument? But what do the Anglo-Indians like this District Magistrate lose if the Indians are spoiled? Their only duty is to see that the revenue ofthe Government is not reduced on any account and that is why they obstruct even a good cause.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th April, writes:--After

The discharge of the Tuticorin vakils

a protracted trial for one month, the six vakils of Tuticorin have been discharged. Evidently they were arrested to strike terror into the minds of the people and were remanded to custody to prevent their helping Chidambaram Pillai and others. They have now been let off because the prosecution of Chidambaram Pillai is over. Perhaps this shows the ability of the British officials! Is it justice to insult illegally respectable men? When men of status are thus unnecessarily teased by even a lower officials, how is the Government justified in expecting the former to help the latter in emergencies? The popular leaders can be expected to co-operate with the Government only if they are treated with respect and courtesy by theofficials.

20. The INDIA, of the 25th April, remarks:--Some boys in Calcutta were undergoing courses in fencing, wrestling, etc., as a part of their physical culture, and elderly people too used to attend these for pleasure, The Police somehow scented something bad in this mind and have begun to guard all the places where such games are practised. As if this was not enough, a respectable gentleman, who had come to witness the fun, was arrested by the Police. All these things appear strange indeed. Is it a crime for youngsters to indulge in games and for elders to witness them? Perhaps it is so; for can a subject nation have games and can it enjoy happiness? The duty of its members is only to learn a slavish barbarian language from their fifth year till they come of age and then take up such avocations as pulling the punka of a Feringhee! When the fate of this country has come to be what it is, what hardships may not others have to undergo? But there is no action which is not followed by its consequences is it not?

"Is very play a crime?"

21. The INDIA, of the 25th April, writes:--Tiruvalluvar, the great Tamil poet, has said: "The duties of a king are fourfold, viz.,--(1) to increase his sources of income; (2) to accumulate the wealth acquired thereby; (3) to guard it from being taken away by others; and (4) to divide it equitably among his subjects" Now let us see how far the British Government has been discharging these duties of a king--

"The fourfold duties of a king

As for guarding its wealth against the inroads of others our Government is weakest here. Instead of the robbers taking its wealth by force, it will invite them and pay them any amount us tribute. This has been clearly illustrated by the recent Zakkakhel expedition and also by the way in which it is treating the Afridis who have till now committed countless robberies in Peshwar. Then again many of its countrymen, who are not fit for any work in their

own country, are brought over here and paid high salaries. Though there are far abler people here, they are not cared for by the Government. Even if, perchance, some of them happen to be given higher posts, they are not paid the ssame salaries and they are not treated with the same respect as these foreigners. Moreover it confers the highest and most responsible appointments on youngsters coming out from ~~the~~ England; but it does not trust the Indians with the same posts. Thus these whites take away enough of money from the country, both openly and secretly. As if all this was not enohgh, the Police, who have been empoloyed to guard the wealth of the country, outdo their master in iniquity. Whenever any dacoity or murder takes place, they quietly absent themselves from the place for a month and then leisurely step into wreak their vengeance on particular people for having refused to bribe them at any time.

With regard to the last duty of dividing the wealth among its subjects, the Government never does this. It always distrusts its subjects and so does not think it necessary to spend much on them. Even the few pleasure resorts built by it, apparently for the use of the public, are really intended only for the benefit of the whites.

No difference to India whether the Government is Liberal of Conservative.

22. In expatiating upon the merits of Sir Henry Cambell Bannerman as a staunch liberal, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th April remarks:--As far as India is concerned, it makes no difference whether the Home Government is Liberal or Conservative; for the alleged broad principles of the Liberals are acted upon only with reference to the British dominions. No doubt, Sir Henry showed that he was a staunch Liberal by stating as follows with reference to India; "We must first of all restore order in India. Then we must give free scope to a full discussion of the various administrative measures and see that they are in consonance with the views of the Indians. It is only then that ~~theyxarexin~~ we would have discharged our duty properly." If only

this principle is acted upon in the government of India, it is as good as her having acquired SWARAJ. But whatever may be the view of Sir Henry the Anglo-Indian s around him like Mr.Morley form a stumbling block in the way of its being carried out. When this was the fate of a staunch Liberal like Sir Henry, we cannot expect much for India during the regime of Mr.Asquith, who is known to be not a man of strong will.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The causes of the present unrest.

23. The SOUTH INDIAN FRIEND, of the 16th March, states that the unrest in India, is due only tothe following three causes, viz: (1) The Anglo-Indian officials do not care for the convenience or otherwise of the public.

(2) India is ruled by the British, a foreign nation.

(3) The Government acts as it likes, without consulting the wishes of the people, inthe administration of the country.

Lord Curzon fined 30 shillings

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd April observes:--Differences are to be seen even in trifles between a country having a representative Government like England and one like India, which is being trampled under the feet of foreign authorities who rule on the principle of "What I will is law". Thus Lord Curzon ruled over India for seven years, in the most arbitrayr manner. He carried everything with a high hand as long as he was the head of the administration here. He was even usurping the powers of the Provincial authorities, whom he regarded as so many nonentities. His regard for the Indian public is too well known to be detailed. He even went to the extent of calling the Indians a set of liars. Now this very Lord Curzon, who was enjoying a kingly position in India, has been fined 30 shillings by a Polic Court in England, for having driven his motor-car rashly! During the hearing, the Magistrate gave more credence to the words

of a police constable than to those of our Lord, who stoutly denied the charge. See how a man, who was more than an Emperor while in India, has been treated in England! Besides this, motorists in India do not seem to have the least fear of being arrested or punished for rash driving; on the other hand, it seems as if the people will be fined if they happen to stand in the way of a motor-car going at a tremendous rate!

On the same subject the INDIA, of the 25th April, remarks:- Is not Lord Curzon the next door neighbour to HARISCHANDRA? Did he not assert that the Indians were a nation of liars? But still this personification of truth stooped, to utter a deliberate falsehood before a Police court in his own country. Will the noble Lord now ponder over the question whether it is his own nation or the Indian nation that deserves the name of "liars"?

"We must unite again"

25. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd April, while advising all the Indians to adopt the principles laid down by the Allahabad Convention and work together for holding the Congress this year, remarks:- It is not good for us that we should allow ourselves tobe divided, especially now when the Englishmen are trying their best to cause a split among us. The Moderates have perhaps become elated with the facts that Mr.Morley spoke of rallying them to his side and that Sir Harvey Adamson and the Governor of Madras threw the responsibility of preserving order in the country on their shoulders, and so they are trying to shun the Extremists. Even the English papers are, on every occasion, advocating a division in our camp. But what is the motiveof Mr.Morley and others and the English press in trying to divide us? It is simply that, if their object is carried out, they can say to the Indians, "You are not able to work one institution unanimously. How are you going to administer a country? So befit yourself to work in union and then ask for SWARAJ". It is a known fact that they are now doing their best to create dissension between the Muhammadans and

the Hindus. Even so, they will try their utmost to divide the Hindus also among thexmselves. They will draw the Moderates to their side by giving titles and appointments, to them. They have also began ta tha this campaign,,taking advantage of the fact that there are many amongst us, like Mr.Rangaswami Aiyangar of Tinnevelly and Mr.Srivnivasa Rao of Kurnool, who are ready to take the bait. But we must not fall an exa easy prey to these allurements.

"Boycott is our only weapon"

26. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd April, while nothing with pleasure that the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company at Tuticorin has only gained in strength and vigour as a result of the Official high-handedness, observes:--It is only when our position is endangered by our enemies that we must join together, and once we unite, none can overcome us and there isnothing which we cannot achieve. Union is theonly means of our salvation. If all the thirty crores of us join together, we can even conquer the whole world, and we are glad that our people have begun to realise the truth of the above maxim. Now that we have got hold of a good port like Tuticorin, we must use all our skill in developing the trade opened there and gain experiences and profits therefrom Our people must also set about uprooting the Coral Cotton Mills. This is not a difficult a task; for, it is our people that cultivate cotton, it is they that drive the carts, and it is also they that work for wages. If only thayxthatxt allthese people join together and determine to help only a SWADESHI Mill, the other mill must surely go down. It is only cheap yarn that our weavers cannot get how and that is why they are not able to compete successfully with Manchester. It is a sign of the times that the Kovilpatti Mill is also working well. It seems the Englishman refuse to buy cotton from the village people, perhaps as a retort for the disturbances at Tuticorin and Tinnevelly. But what if th ese people do It? Our own mills aox may purchase it; or better still, to any of we can pay the Englishmen in their own coin by refusing to sell our cotton.

them. We are sure this quarrel will end only like this. The Government and the English merchants will stand together and throw every obstacle in the way of the improvement of SWADESHI industries. Our ~~only~~ only weapon, and a weapon of sufficient strength too, is boycott.

Lala Lajpat Rai and the Anglo-Indian papers.

27. The INDIA, of the 25th April, says:--It seems Lala Lajpat Rai has filed a suit against the Englishman and the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE for defermination, in that these papers published that he was actively disseminating sedition and causing riots. We think this procedure is not quite in keeping with our Lala's dignity; for, what is the use of blaming the arrow, ignoring the man who actually discharged it? Mr.Morley and even the Viceroy have openly said that he was deported because of his attempt to undermine the loyalty of the troops. What is our Lala going to do with these people?

The Indians in the Colonies

28. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Arpil, observes:--We have already written about the fact that the Government of Canada had sent Mr.Mackenzie King to England to confer with the Colonial Secretary and prevent the immigration of the Indians into Canada. The arguments brought forward by this Canadian representative are that the Indians, by offering cheaper labour, have reduced the scale of wages of the whites and also that the climate of Canada does not ~~suti~~ suit the Indians. Whether these arguments are sound or not, it is not necessary that the Indians should go to ~~Canada~~ Canada for working for wages. But to prevent the Indians from even settling there permanently or acquirings property in that country is not compatible with our rights as British subjects. The present tendency to prevent the immigration of the Indians into the Colonies generally is not only against our natural rights but is also an insult to our national

dignity. On this very subject, Mr.Richard Jep said before a society in London: "When it is possible forthe whites to go to India and safely carry on their trade, it is unjust to prevent the Indianssettling in the Colonies or even immigrating into them as coolies. It may be that the Indiansxtook brook this insult for the present, being afraid of the military strength of England but this cannot continue long." In xxxxx reply to this, Sir West Ridgeway stated that dangerous consequences would ensue if the Indians in the Colonies were treated on the same level as the Colonials. This argument is queer indeed! The Colonials number only about 2 crores while the Indians count nearly 30 crores. But still it is said that it is dangerous to compel the colonies to act in a certain way, while it is considered safe enough to tease and insult the Indians. What will be the fate of England if India, not brooking the treatment of the Englishmen, comes forward to claim her fights and privileges? Perhaps Sir West Ridgeway does not think this to be possible.

Differences between SWARAJ and foreign rule.

[29. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th April, writes:--Though the Native States like Mysore and Travancore cannot be called Model States, yet their subjects enjoy better privileges and are treated better than the British subjects. Though the Government of Mysore is, in a way, subject to the British, the officials of that State, being natives of India, treat the people more sympathetically than the British officials do. Totake an instance, some days back a petition was sent by the ryots of the Salem district against the reservation of a forest on the ground that it would deprive their cattle of their pasturage, and we do not know what reply has been given by the Government. A similar case occurred in Mysore. Some ryots there objected to a forest near their villages being reserved and the Mysore Government cancelled the order of the Conservator of Forests on the ground that the agriculturists of the locality would suffer by reserving the said forest. Will our British Government give such a speedy and sympathetic reply to the prayrrof its subjects?]

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th April, says:--In one of the stations on the S.P. Railway in the Punjab, a dog belonging

The whites and the Indians

to a European guard was trying to get out through the ticket gate with the passengers that arrived by that train. The ticket collector, a native, thinking ~~x~~it to be a Pariah dog, stamped his feet to frighten it away. Even this provoked its master who at once rushed forth and gave such severe slaps on the face of the poor native that the latter lost one of his teeth and was bleeding profusely. Shameful indeed has become our position! Till now we thought that an Indian is only below a European; but now we have been told that he is not equal even to the dog of a European! An Indian woman was done to death by a cheetah kept by the Collector of Salem and there has been neither a trial nor any punishment for it. But an Indian had to lose his tooth for having threatened the dog of a European! It seems as if one should consider himself more fortunate to be born of a dog of a European than to be born of mother Bharata!

For the week ending 23rd May 1908.

No. 21 of 1908.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

3. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd May, says:--It appears that a young European lady complained to the Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, one day that a Bengalee lad

"Is there so much difference between a white and a black skin?"

spit on her when she was passing along the Hospital Road, This enraged the Superintendent who at once ordered the constables to find out the native who was bold enough to spit on a divine white. Eventually these pounced upon the son of Rai Bahadur N.K.Sen, as the culprit and produced him before the Superintendent. The aggrieved party was forthwith sent for ~~the asked~~ and asked to identify the boy as the person ~~black~~ who had spit on her; but she was

not able to do it and this was a dead block in the way of the Police booking the boy. So they are making strenuous attempts to fix the offence on the lad and evidence is also being manufactured for this. The whites who assault our Indian women in a most merciless manner and spoil their chastity are not even touched by the hands of law; and yet so much fuss is being made for the simple offence of having spit at a white lady. Is there so much difference between a white and a black skin?

(b) Courts.

The case against the Tuticorin vakils.

4. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th April, in commenting on the security cases launched against six vakils of Tuticorin, remarks:- The evidence of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar has clearly established that he is almosta a lunatic, and so the fact that the Magistrate has passed some strictures on respectable vakils like K.R. Venkatarama Aiyar on the strength of this lunatic's evidence only shows that, however able the English officials may be, even lunativs among us can dupe them at times.

Justice under the British Government.

5. The INDIA, of the 2nd May, writes:--The stories of our ancient kings show us that they were afraid of the curses or the ang anger of even the meanest of their subjects. But how is justice administered now under the British Government? If a white kills an Indian subject, in no court of justice is the punished for it. Thus, recently an assistant editor of the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE shot an Indian to death and he was sentenced only to six months' rigorous imprisonment for it. Then again a Farinshee stationmaster in the Punjab committed rape on a native woman who was travelling alone in a train and was acquitted on the strength of his own statement that the lady was a bad character. The victim in this case seeing that she couldnot have justice in this world has committed suicide. Is it not our duty to save the honour of our women? O! Sons of Bharata! Even the dogs of ancient times led a better life than what we do now!

6. With reference to the case in which Mr.Andrews, a planter, was charged with having killed a Muhammadan bandyman for having obstructed his motor-car, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th May, observes:--Mr.Robertson, by whom this case was tried, held that the death of the Muhammadan was caused by accident and not by the thrashing given him by Mr.Andrews, and that as the latter pleaded guilty to having assaulted the former; he was fined Rs.15 This decision was already expected from this Magistrate; for Mr.Robertson could never be expected to do impartial justice in a case where an Anglo-Indian was the accused! But why did the Magistrate fine Mr.Andrews Rs.15 after holding that he did not cause the death of the Muhammadan? There is another surprising feature in this trial, and that is the fact that the Magistrate disbelieved the evidence of all the five bandymen and the lad who was driving the cart of the deceased when the accident happened, but relied on the testimony of another planter who was travelling by the same motor-car with the accused. This is nothing strange with a Magistrate who coolly allowed his cheetah, while at Salem, to kill a woman!

Mr.Robertson as a Judge.

7. Referring to the dying declaration of the cartman, Ali, who died of the consequences of the assault on him by the planter Mr.Andrews, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 17th May, observes:--"Those who read the history of that unfortunate Ali can see, to some extent how justice is administered in our country andhow unsafe are the lives of the natives. How can our lives be safe if wicked persons, who commit murders boldly without cause, are let off with light punishments? Lord Salisbury said somewhere that injustice would ruin one, however strong one might be. Injustice is clearly perceived in all the affairs between the natives and the foreigners. We may not have equal rights with the English. Duties may be imposed on our manufactures to disable us from competing with the English manufacturers. Our countrymen

"Administration of justice"?

in South Africa may be treated as slaves. Many things more may be done. But if once murders are indulged in, the right of self-defence cannot but be exercised. Even the Indian who is an incarnation of mildness, cannot but adopt the manly measures of the English. What has become of the Faringhee adopt the manly measures of the English. What has become the Faringhee papers who were clamorously stating that the native papers had not ~~decided~~ decried the affair that led to the murder of Mrs.Kennedy. What became of their provocation which demanded that the boys in the Alipore Jail should be beheaded? There is not a word in those ~~x~~papers regarding the death of this poor cartman Ali. When such injsutice prevails, agitation cannot but be on the increase. What other ~~king~~ thing could some provoked youths do than learn bomb-making in haste? The English Government would be resting, as it were, on a volcano, until uniform justice prevails between man and man, until racial hatred ceases, and until the same law and policy are impartially observed as regards all people."

8. Referring to the dying declaration of the cartman, Ali, who died of the consequences of Mr.Andres' assault, and to the evidence ~~x~~ in the case, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 16th May observes:--"Mr.Andrews, who committed the offence, was punished~~xxx~~ with a fine of Rs.15 only. Had this planter claimed tobe tried by a jury of his own nationality, he would have escaped even this slight fine. The District Magistrate, while imposing the nominal fine, commended Mr.Andrews for having called in the aid of the Police and should call him a sympathetic man, as he failed to make any provision for the wife and children of Ali. We request the Government to interfere now and institute a strict enquiry into this regrettable incident."

"Yet another judicial scandal"

9. The JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 16th May, writes that a vacancy has occurred on the Bench of the High Court of Judicature at Madras by the untimely death of the Hon'ble Mr.Justice Boddam, whichx will in all probability be filled up by some Hindu, for the preponderance of the Hindu influence leads one to believe that they alone will carry the goal. The Small causes Court, the City Court, and the HighCourts have respectively got Hindu Judges. It is the Muhammadans alone who are left in the back ground and whose claims to higher appointments have often been ignored. It will be deemed a great favour done to the Muhammadan community, if Government were to appoint a qualified Muhammadan barrister to the vacant Judgeship, if no qualified Muhammadans are available in Madras, then many experienced and able Muslim barristers can be obtained from Bombay, Calcutta or Allahabad who will do full justice to the appointment.. If is strongly hoped that the Madras Government will be pleased to appoint a Muhammadan barrister to the vacant Judgeship.

Suggesting the appointment of a Muhammadan as a Puisne Judge of the High Coutt of Madras.

10. The QASIM-UL-AKHBAR, of the 18th May, has the following in English:--The entire Muhammadan communityx of this Presidency was intensely grieved at the sad news of the demise of Mr.Boddam. His connection with the Muslims of this Presidency the benefactions and aid towards them were such that they always considered Mr. Boddam more than a Muslim. In fact, the Muslim were so confident of his support and help that they never thought it so far desxiaable to press upon the Government the necessity of a Muhammadan Judge for Madras High Court. Since we have lost this patron, the whole Muslim world is highly interested, and much lxx concerned to most respectfully press upon His Excellency the Governor the necessity of appointing a Muslim, Judge. We are compelled to say, though reluctantly, that in this Presidency the Muhammadans were not lucky enough to secure even one solitary prayer, out of those that were placed by the Muslimx deputation before His Excellency the viceroy.

High Court Judgeship. Mussalman claims.

the Viceroy. The Madras Court has a splendid opportunity of conceding this just right to a community the claims of which have so far been ruthlessly neglected. A demand has been raised for a Barrister-Judge. And though the Muslim community is not fortunate enough in possessing a Muslim barrister in this Presidency, there are lots of Muhammadan barristers in other presidencies. We are informed agitation is already going on in Bombay to secure one seat on the bench for a Muhammadan, and we hope the Muhammadans of this Presidency will also take steps to move the Local as well as Calcutta Governments to appoints a Muhammadan barrister here as an opportunity has occurred.

(c) Jails

"The accused in Tinnevelly riots"

11. Adverting to the treatment of the under-trial prisoners by the Superintendent of the Palamcottah Jail, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 20th May, observes:--"All the accused in the riot cases were kept in the prisoners' wars. They were not allowed to get their own food for a long time. Some of the accused were made to work outside the wards and beaten like beasts. If these incidents had been reported, it seems they would have been punished with solitary confinement andkept in fetters. If the abovesaid incidents have really taken place, it is theduty of the Government to investigate them."

(k) General.

The Government and the Jains

13. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st May, says:--Parasanath is a hill which is held sacred by the Jains. It is at the same time a sanitarium coveted by the whites, who have therefore begun to acquire property in it and build houses thereon. This was felt an inconvenience by the Jains who always want their religious sanctuaries to be in secluded places, and sothey petitioned the Viceroy protesting against the intrusion of the whites. But the

Government has replied that it saw no reason to prevent the Europeans building houses on the hill, and this has naturally enraged the Jains. Eight thousand of them assembled in the Bombay Lalbagh and passed a resolution that this reply of the Government has cast to the winds the vaunting of the British that religious tolerance was one of the main principles of their Government and that this reply will only intensify the already disturbed state of the country. It is not strange that the feelings of the Jains have been roused thus; for, even under the rule of the Muhammadans, who are never known to be tolerant towards other religions, the Jains were unmolested in the religious worship. But the British Government, though it ostensibly avers religious tolerance, has, in practice, conferred many benefits on the Christians at the expense of the other religionists in India. So the Hindus and the Muhammadans, who have had to share the same fate more than once, are actively sympathising with the Jains in their present predicament and the Jains are determined to fight for justice even to the very doors of the Privy Council. If this event had occurred some years back, perhaps the Jains would have kept quiet after this petition; but now the time has changed and the people no longer quietly tolerate all the evil ways of the Government.

The Europeans and the Indians in service.

14. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd May, observes:--One of our main grievances, about which we have been discusing for a long time, is the fact that the majority of the higher appointments, in India are conferred on Europeans and not on the children of the soil. No doubt, from the time India came under British rule, it has been proclaimed at every stage by responsible persons that no difference would be observed between the Europeans and the Indians in the matter of the appointments under the Government of India. Thus, in 1833, an Act was passed by Parliament, declaring this policy, and this was repeated again in the Royal Proclamation of 1858. But still the Europeans and not the Indians were given

the higher appointments and there was an outcry in the country. So, the Public Service Commission was appointed in 1888 to enquire and report on the feasibility of appointing the Indians ix 18xx to higher posts, and this Commission recommended that some of the higher appointments might be conferred onthe Indians. Though the recommendation of this Commission has been acted upon, to some extent, the appointments that have actually been conferred on the Indians are of a lower status than those given to the Europeans, and even among xhxx these appointments only very few have been reserved for the Indians. This question has been threshed out by the congress and brought to the notice of the Parliament; but still matters have not improved in any way. Beyond the fact that two vacancies in the Council of India have been filled up by ~~number of appointments~~ natives, no further advance hasx been made in the direction of equalising the number of appointments held by the Europeans and the Indians. Can out grievances be redressed by appointing two Indians to the Council of India? Every day Mr.Morley is appointing hosts of Europeans on fat salaries. It cannot be that qualified Indians cannot be had to fill up these vacancies, and so it is only the greediness of the whites that has been a block in the way of this grievance of the Indians being redressed.

On the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th May, writes: It is an undisputed fact that for doing the same work, an Indian gets a lower salary than that of a European and that there is a difference even in the designationof their appointments. Thus an Indian in charge of a divisionx is styled only a Deputy Offixx Collector and paid Rs.500, while a European in charge of the same division is styled a Sub-Collector and paid Rs.1000. The same is the case even in the Educational department. Here a European Professor of a college is taken in the Indian Educational Service and paid from Rs.500 to Rs.1500, while an Indian Professor, doing the same work, is shoved into the Provincial Educational Service and paid only from Rs.200 to Rs.700! We can find no other reason for this glaring difference than the difference in skin--the fact of one being born a European and another being

born an Indian. The injustice of Government does not stop here. If a vacancy occurs in the Provincial Educational Service it very readily brings in a European to fill it. But at the same time the Indians are never allowed to fill a vacancy in the Indian Educational Service! At the most these can only act for a man and even that only for a short period! We thought that this will be the utmost limit to which the partiality of the English towards their kith and kin will be carried. But now the PIONEER has made a statement which is calculated to create an impression that the members of the Provincial Educational Service are inferior even in ability and efficiency to those of the Indian Educational Service. This is strange indeed, considering the fact that the PIONEER has had no opportunities of gauging the capabilities of the members of the Provincial Educational Service. Perhaps it has forgotten the statement made by Mr.Bilderbeck during the debate on the Indian Universities Act that it is only the second-rate and third-rate men than are now sent out for the Indian Educational Service!

The bomb outrages in Bengal

15. With reference to the recent bomb outrages in Bengal, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th May, remarks:--About 25 years back, a famous Anglo-Indian official, by name Dr.Hunter, said: "If the Indians are not granted their privileges and appeased thereby, India is sure to become another Ireland--not one Ireland alone, but fifty Irelands, put together." It seems as if these events are a part of what he predicted, and if that is so--but we hope not--it speaks volumes about his foresight indeed.

On the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th May, says: Some mischievous people have committed these outrages, and no Indian will object to these people being punished for their offence, Such outrages are an everyday occurrence in Western countries, and in all such cases it is only the real offenders that are tried and punished; but never have all the people of a locality been punished for the vagaries of a few among them.

It is only in India that the Government officials, who are mostly foreigners, are unnecessarily alarmed at these occurrences and tease the popular leaders and the public at large for the crimes of a few unprincipled men among them. If some irresponsible and mischievous persons of a locality commit a crime, how can the public be liable for it? There is always a set of mischief-makers in every society and if an opportunity is given for these people to play their game boldly, it is the Government officials and not the popular leaders that are responsible for it. We do not know how many are to suffer for the recent outrages in Bengal; for, events like these are usually exaggerated by certain Englishmen, who always din into the ears of Government that the respectable higher classes among the Indians in general. Even the Government believes every word uttered by the Anglo-Indian papers and acts on it most precipitately. It is, perhaps, natural that the Government should be provoked when the lives of the English officials are endangered; but it will not add to the strength of the Government to take advantage of these events and wreak its vengeance upon the people at large. The Indians are a quiet, loyal and god-fearing people and will never take pleasure in wantonly killing another person or shedding his blood. Though it is true that we are suffering all sorts of hardships under the British Government and though it has also recently begun, at times, to adopt Russian methods, of administration, it has not yet become a complete prototype of the Russian Government and the people do not expect it to become so. If at all it happens it must only be owing to the atrocities committed by the serious acts of the people. Therefore, Lord Minto or Lord Morley must patiently gauge the present situation and take steps to meet it after mature consideration. They must confide in and co-operate with the popular leaders and try to create feeling of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled.

listening ...ords of the ... papers and ...ny to the

The VEERAKESARI, of the 15th May, gives a long account of the bomb outrages in Muzaferpore and the subsequent searches and arrests and, in the course of it, says that the Bengalee Extremists being convinced that without somebody having betrayed the whole

~~perpetrators of the outrage or to watch, and take~~
conspiracy the police would, by themselves, never have been able to arrest the perpetrators of the outrage or to ~~night, have now~~ watch and take away to the tanaah a large number of the conspirators at night, have now made a vow that if the betrayer should ever be found out they would cut him to pieces. The paper also says that even the female relatives of the conspirators are so far from being overawed by the arrests that they show extraordinary calmness and are rather proud that their sons and grandsons are sacrificing their lives for the sake of their motherland.

The MYSORE STAR, of the 18th May, in a leading article, strongly denounces the conspiracy, and says that SWARAJ can never be attained by such means, and that such inhuman deeds are foreign and revolting to the nature and religion of the Indians.

The work of the Liberal Government in India.

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th May, writes:--A London correspondent of a Calcutta daily, while recounting the various reforms introduced by the present Liberal Government, concludes by saying that the only Minister, who cannot lay claim to any important measure within his regime, is Mr.Morley. The only reason for this is, in our opinion, that there are people to question the conduct of the other Ministers, if they are lethargic, while there is no one to question Mr.Morley on his apathy. His so-called responsibility to the House of Commons was a mere farce; for, he was able to browbeat and silence even the few members that took an interest in India. While this was actually the case, it was news to us told by Mr.Winston Chrurchill that the one great feat the Liberal Government had performed in India was to have restored order and quiet in the country. This is just what the country has not at present. On the other hand, the discontent of the people has increased after the advent of the Liberal Government. Perhaps the confirmation of the partition of Bengal tended to restore order in the country! Perhaps the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh was a step towards preserving the peace of the Land!

Perhaps the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act was a measure calculated to allay the discontent of the people! We need not continue this list, for thousands are the instances we can bring forward to prove that what Mr.Winston Churchill stated was just the reverse of truth.

Englishmen's partiality to their own class.

22. A correspondent in the BHARATA BHANDU, of the 9th May, referring to the partiality alleged to be shown to their class by Englishmen, reports in detail a recent case in Lower Burma in which a European named William Jhonson was tried by a European jury for killing a native Christian. The article sets forth the impatience exhibited during the course of the trial by the jury who wished to acquit the accused at the very onset without any regard to the due formalities of law in spite of the Judge persistently reminding them of their duty, and concludes by saying that with such a jury in a country it is not surprising thatthere should be unrest and discontent and it would be strange if it did not exist.

Remarks on the bomb outrage.

23. An article in the same paper, referring to the bomb outrage in Bengal, says that even like the adage that one "coming to beg weds the daughter" if all the products and the prosperity of the land are unjustly enjoyed solely by foreigners exposing the sons of the soil to perennial starvation,it is not an extraordinary issue that discontent should exist in the land nor is it surprising to see the people out of despondency and regardless of future consequences resorting to atrocities when their persistent prayers to have the causes of their discontent mitigated or removed are not heeded by the authorities. This is the true explanation of the present state of affairs in India. Intense love when violated developes into hatred corresponding in intensity, and so the Bengalis once the devoted admirers of the British are now in accordance with the law of nature beginning to show their

disapprobation in a remarkably marked manner. It is not Bengalis alone who are adopting manoevures against the English though all have not this same telling effect. Some of the highly educated but impatient young Indians--Bengalis in particular--have begun in accordance with the "blow for blow" principle to commit certain atrocities against the English Government. The article then refers to the anarchist society and the revelations brought to light by the police investigation and concludes by observing that the secret activities courageously manipulated by Bengali youths with the idea of teaching a good lesson to Government on the principle of "a whisking stick for a hissing serpent" are too astounding to be easily credited.

Translation of "Anandamath" in action.

24. A leader in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 16th May, compares the recent events in Bengal to the state of affairsx depicted in the novel "Anandamath", and indentifies the chief conspirators of the anarchist society with the leaders of the "Santana" Sannyasi rebellion of 1771. The deplorable condition of Bengal under the dual system of Government at the earliest period of British advent in India when the imbecile Nabobs were nominally ruling Bengal, the military powers being vested in the hands of the company, prompted a set of pious Hindus to organise themselves into a society of Sannyasis styling themselves as Santanas (offsprings of the goddess Kali) ~~of with~~ renouncing every worddly tiw and devoting themselves entirely to the cause of mother India, by relieving distress and alleviating the horror-inspiring agonies of the famine-stricken Hindus, who in their last resort had to feed upon human flesh to appease their hunger, on the East India Company in Bengal preventing, in their inhumanity, the landing of rice. In the same manner, the deplorable state of affairs in Bengal after the partition and the repressive policy inaugurated by Government induced a set of high-spirited Bengali youths to band themselves into a secret society to wreak vengeance on the Government, regardless of consequences to themselves. The

article then compares th e leaders of the present society to the principal characters in the Sannyasi rebellion, and says that thus far the comparison holds good and facts tally even in the method adopted by both societies, but only the results are in a slight degree different. We can only feel sorry that the Government of Lord Minto, which goaded the people to the conviction that they have no hope of relief otherthan by translating themselves even in this 1908 to the events of 1771 as described in the novel "Anandamath".

The paper gives a detailed description of the search for bombs and the separate confessions of some of the arrested anarchists.

Difference between Englishmen ~~xxx~~ in India and Americans.

25. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDU, of the 16th May, says that it is a well-known fact in India that when whitemen murder the black, they usually get off scotfree. But in America thingsx are different. One Indian was killed last November by two whites at Origun and the culprits were duly prosecuted and one of them was punished with penal servitude for life and the other with seven years' transportation. One can know from this the difference between the Englishmen ~~xxx~~ in India and the Americans.

Government to give concessions to avoid future troubles

26. A paragraph in the BHARATA Bandu, of the 16th May, referring to Mr.A.R.Dutt's opinion regarding the recent revelations in Bengal, states that unless Government follow the advice contained in Mr.Dutt's remarks that Indians should be reconciled by giving them tangible concessions towards self-government, in order to avoid further serious complications, it is not possible to hope that the future will be anything but dark and gloomy.

27. A correspondent in the BHARATA BANDU, of the 16th May, says that some persons whom the Government wished to deport last year, may be deported this year,

Fearlessness to dare and suffer gradually gaining ground in India.

and that the key of the fort at Mandalay should in the pocket of the Viceroy for some time to come. Let new jail buildings be constructed. What is the disgrace in going to jail? It is built on our soil and with our money. Have we no right to make it our permanent habitation? The state of affairs has now come to such a pass; every man talks and feel that when persons like Pal, Vivekanandaswami's brother Bannerji Jeswantrai and Tilak go to jail, why not I? ~~It is really frightful~~ Punishment has ceased tobe regarded by the people as a source of disgrace. It is really frightful. Will not Government adoptmeasures to change this opinion of the people?

28. A correspondent in the BHARATA BANDU, of the 16th May, says that everywhere in India sedition cases seem to be the

Sedition cases the order of the day in India.

order of the day. There was an apparent lull in the prosecution of papers owing to the activities of Government being all directed towards the prosecution for sedition of prominent public speakers. Once again the spell is broken and the ghosts of sedition are showing their "grinning teeth". Another sedition prosecution is being launched against the BHANDE MATARAM of Calcutta for publishing an article called the "new conditions". According to the adage "necessity is the mohther of invention; it seems possible for the British Government to discover sedition as long as they find it necessary to punish popular representatives But what will be the result of all this? These are simply pranks exhibiting the cowardice of Government. In the world's history the no country appears to have been subdued by repression. Quite the reverse appears to be the case. The entertainment of a hope in the very teeth of experiences afforded by the world's history of subjugating everything by repression appears to be futile even in the ages to come (YUGANTA used in a pun).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th April, remarks:--

"Is the sympathy of the Europeans necessary for our progress?"

Mr. Karunakara Menon, in the course of his address as President of the North Arcot District Conference, said that we must have the sympathy, not only of the British Government, but also of the Europeans, if we want to better our condition. We can understand, and we quite concur with him in realising, the necessity for a subject nation to have the sympathy of the Europeans generally. Even this can be true if he meant by this that, with regard to trade and political relations, we must have sympathy, and in this sense we must have, not their sympathy alone, but that of all nations and each of them must have our sympathy too. But, if, on the other hand, he meant by it that we, being subject to a foreign Government, must have the sympathy of the memebrs of the ruling race to help us in improving our condition, we cannot at all agree with him. Because, he should only be deluding himself, if he thinks that the sympathy of the Europeans will avail us in any way to raise ourselves. It is futile to expect one nation to help another to better its condition; for, one of the main principles of European international law is that one nation can come up only at the expense of others. Thus, what is the nature of the feelings between Britain and America, today? The latter will gloat over it, if to-morrow England goes down all on a sudden and the whole English trade comes into her hands. The same is the case with every other European or Asiatic Power, and how, then, is it possible for the Europeans to show sympathy towards Indians? When it is not possible what is the meaning of our asking for it? It only shows that we have lost all manliness in us. So what we now require is union among ourselves and a spirit of manliness and self-sacrifice and not the sympathy of the Europeans.

The Government and the legal profession.

32. With reference tothe appointment of Sir V.C.Desikachariar as a Third Judge of the Court of Small Causes, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th April, remarks:--The rise of the extremists in the country has become a source of profit to the alleged moderates; for, by villifying the former in season and out of season, the latter have got into the good graces of the Government, which confers the highest appointments only on those whohave been playing to its tunes,--Sir V.C.Desikachariar has been a model instance of this class--and not on those who honestly criticise its action. Till now, the public believed that the members of the legal profession had not come under this influence and so could be expected to work boldly for the popular cause. But recent events have shown that even this class have begun to cringe for official patronage. First of all, there is the chance of a vakil becoming a District Munsiff and thence a Sub-Judge and a District Judge too evetually. This is a tempting advantage, indeed, for so many of the profession who are not successfull as vakils, and naturally they lose all independence in awaiting at the doors of Government for its bits. Then, again, the eassiest path for a senior vakil is to jump into the Legislative Council and thence into a Judgeship or similar high post, and once he is appointed to a post under the Government, he becomes its creature and loses all independence. Thus, the official patronage has spoilt the only class that stood by the people, and the best way to reclaim this class is for the Government to withdraw its patronage from it.

"Never pocket the insult of a white".

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st May, says:--One day a Bengallee gentleman, Jotindra Nath Mukerjee, while passing along the platform of the Siligiri Railway station in Bengal, happened to rub against a soldier and this provoked the latter; for he could not brook the pollution of being touched by an Indian! So he at once struck Jotindra with his cane. But Jotindra was not

a timid fool to pocket this cooly and so gave the soldier a severe slap on his cheeck, and we learn that both of them have filed compliants before the Magistrate. We do not care how the case ends; but one good lesson can be learnt from this, and that is that if a European or any other man raise his arm against us, actuated by his racial arrogance, we must at once pay him in his own coin, and that patience and fairplay should never guide us in returning the insult of a white.

Serving the Crown is as important as saving the country.

34. With reference to the reply given by V.C.Desikaracharíar to the address of the vakils on the day he took his seat on the Bench of the Small Cause Court, that serving the Crown was as much the duty of a citizen as serving his country, the ~~same paper remarks:-~~ SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st May remarks:--It is regrettable that he should have made this statement without really understanding what service to the country means. This only shows that his official position has already blinded his learning and erudition. We do not know where he learnt that service to the Crown was equal to service to the country. Even in countries which have representative Governments serving the Government for money is not held to be compatible with genuine patriotism, and in autocracies like Russia, the Government officials are actually foreigners and the masters of Sir V.C.Desikachariar are also foreigners. To act according to the wishes of these foreigners will, on many occasions, be against the interests of the people, and this must necessarily be som with regard to the lower officials. Thus it is simply a hoax to say that by being in service, people can become instruments of doing good to the public, Then, again, the knight said that in India serving the Crown was no less important than serving the country. So, he wants us to believe that a man like Lala Lajpat Rai who, not caring for his income , comfort or convenience, has devoted his life to the cause of his country is on the same level with an officer who, caring only for the thousands he is paid

by Government, teases the people and enforces the law enacted by the foreigners! Who will assent to this? No doubt, the knight may, from his safe position onthe bench of the Court of Small Causes, say to the patriots of the country, "You and I are on the same level; perhaps I am even better than you". But this will show only his audacity and not his intelligence.

"Keep up your old institutions

35. The INDIA, of the 2nd May, writes:--In this struggle for liberty we must not go headlong and we must not lose sight of our ancient institutions and ape after modern ones. The destruction of the ancient village institutions has been athe bane of Europe. anduntil and unless these are revived, no European Power can hope to live ~~and xxxxfxxtxxxx~~ for long time. Thus, for example, England, by improving her industies and manufactures, has~~x~~ driven out of existence her agriculture, and the result is that she has now to depend on us for raw products. The natural consequence of this is that the the moment another Power competes with her in the manufacture of articles, her fate is doomed. For, if her industries are affected, the people have no other means of sustenance. Thus the moment we began our boycott, some mills have been closed in England, So we must take a lesson from all this and should not neglect our agriculture in our anxiety to improve the industries. Agriculture is our mainstary and as long as we have it, our country can never be completely ~~rixxd~~ ruined. We do not care how many times the Europeans have robbed it; even now it is being robbed in various ways. But if our boycott is carried to its utmost limits, this robbery must naturally stop and then we can ourselves see what the position of England is.

36. The HINDU NESAN, of the 4th May, writes:--The fast-spreading SWADESHI spirit has fallen like a thunderbolt upon our officials.

SWADESHISM--the root of SWARAJ

It seems as if these saints cannot calmly look upon our people living peaceably and well. They will look kindly on us, perhaps, if we hxx leave all our property in their hands, always play to their tunes and wait in their doorways like dogs. But are these justified in treating us like this? The recent SWADESHI spirit has taught us that they are not. We are always accustomed to treat our guests most hospitably and these are at present only our guests. So it is our duty to help them in every way. But if they bxing begin to take advantage of our kindly disposition and begin to insult us in our own homes, we cannot brook it. In seeking a remedy for this, we have tried a suppliant attitude through our congress for the last twenty-three years but to no purpose. So we have kxxdxxitxis to perforce to seek other ways to acquire SWARAJ and the most efficacious means to do it is boycott. With that we can force the British peacock to grant us every oneof our requests. On this subject Mr.Tilak has said: "We have no arms to fight with; but we have a stronger weapon still, to wrest our privileges from our rulers and that is SWADESHI. The Government is conducted by a handful of whites only because we stoop to take up even very low appointments under it. So if we unite, the Government is bound to grant our requests."

For the week ending 30th May 1908.

No. 22 of 1908.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION-

(k) General.

1. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th May, observes:--One Mr. S.B.Mitra, now living in England, has written to a London paper that the vernacular newspapers must be completely gagged. The statement

The futility of repression

made by this traitor to his country is nothing but what is daily repeated by 75 per cent of the Englishmen in India. These Englishmen recommend the gag not only for the vernacular newspapers, but also for the English papers owned by natives; and the English officials like Lord Minto and Lord Morley will at once act upon this suggestion, but for the fact that the Parliament will not allow the passing of such retrograde measures. History has taught that a feeling of disloyalty which arises as a result of a despotic
~~in those~~ increase in intensity if it is tried to suppress it by making
328 rule will only more despotic. If the British people forget the Govt
this lesson taught by history and make the Government more oppressive, we cannot say what will happen. But we do not believe that they will entirely turn a deaf ear to the suggestion of the English papers. Lord Morley may act upon the words of Lord Minto and advise the Parliament that Britain will lose India if repressiv measures are not passed at once. But if the Parliament also blindly acts on the words of its Secretary of State and traitors like S.B. Mitra, it is beyond doubt that India will have to ~~fxxx~~ face unforeseen disasters in the near future.

The bomb outrages at Calcutta

2. With reference to the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th May, says:--The Police are always people who work upon imaginary data and they are notorious for unnecessarily ~~fxx~~ exaggerating facts. The Calcutta Police, especially have become known for their ability in concocting cases and their wits have been sharpened, of late, by the oftrecurring SWADESHI and sedition cases. With such noted qualities, will they now keep quiet when the very stability of the Government appears to be endangered? They will use all their intelligence and fish out facts which may or may not be true. Then again these events are sure to strike terror into the minds of the officials of the foreign Government, and even if these hesitate to raise a hue and cry against the Indians, the foreigners in the land who have no connection with the Government will not let lose this opportunity to villify the Indians wholesale; and these will naturally advise

the Government to become more oppressive. But if the Government is moved, by the unnecessary alarm raised by the whites, to pass more repressive measures, more serious consequences than what have already occurred are sure to follow. On the other hand, if it takes a lesson from these occurrences and not only grants all privileges to the people, but also begins to treat them with a greater amount of sympathy, it can effectively uproot the present discontent and hatred towards the Government. We hope Lord Minto will not be led away by the outcry of the planters and other whites who have no permanent stake in the country and will use his own sense in averting the recurrence of the events of last week.

With reference to the attempt of the various newspapers to find out a motive for the recent bomb outrages, a correspondent of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th May, remarks:--The STATESMAN attributes it to the present unrest in India caused by the partition of Bengal. But this was not the only thing that gave umbrage to the feelings of the Indians. Did not Mr.Morley subsequently state that this partition was made in the teeth of the popular opposition? And yet he called it settled fact and refused to cancel it! Does this not show that it is more the prestige of the rulers than the wishes and convenience of the ruled that it cared for by the present Government? Thus Mr.Morley has, by his conduct, only raked up the wound caused by Lord Curzon, instead of trying to heal it. Then again the treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal is too well known for us to detail. Next, who is responsible for the fact that justice in courts of law has now-a-days become dependent on the colour of the man who seeks it? And then, who is the cause of the lower status of the Indians among the officials, and again why should the British Government always look with a jealous eye on the trade of the Indians? Is it strange, then, that all these things have created a feeling of discontent and despair in the Indians? As the Indians advance in education and experience, they begin to realise their fallen position more clearly. How long can the rulers expect the Indians to be children unable to understand

their position? The best policy for the rulers at this juncture will be ~~kwz~~ to change the form of the Government suitably to the aspirations of the people. But such far-seeing statesmen have become a rarity now and until such appear India must continue to be what she is.

"Sedition in Kistna district"

3. Referring to sedition in India, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 24th May, writes:--"The PIONEER, ~~ofxkwz~~ a Faringhee newspaper, published at Allahabad, is perplexed at sedition spreading even in Southern India, especially in the Kistna District, where the message of Bipin Chandra Pal is delivered to every village. It complains that Telugu papers are chiefly responsible for the spread of sedition and that the Government should be careful. O PIONEER, king of newspapers! Vilify not the natives. Banish your race-hatred. Accord~~x~~ respect and liberty to the natives uniformly with Englishmen. Until you do so, your attempts will prove futile, and your threats empty. Honour others and be honoured yourself."

"Method of administration"

4. Referring to the bomb outrages in Bengal, the SASILEKHA, of the 26th May, observes:--It is true that in every country, there are some mischievous and foolish persons. Are there not anarchists in the highly civilised Europe~~x~~ and America? Do they not attempt to kill Sovereigns and Ministers? Will anybody therefore venture to suggest that the freedom of the Press and the liberty of the people in Europe and America should be curbed? Since this calamity happened in Bengal, the PIONEER and other newspapers are recommending that laws must be enacted to restrict the liberty of the people. During the Sepoy Mutiny in Bengal in 1858, it was only the mutineers that were punished, and Lord Canning did not attempt to curtail the liberty of the others. The anarchists can be traced

by the police and punished. The xxxxxxxx Government must consider these things and follow the advice of the representatives of the Indian people. The advice of the PIONEER must not be listened to. On the whole, the reforms the people desire should be introduced into the administration. As Mr. Frederick Harrison said, one-third of the higher appointments should be conferred on the natives. There is no doubt that it is untrue that sedition is spreading in India."

"The unrest of the people"

5. Referrring to the new spirit which dawned on the Indians, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 24th May, observes:--Afraid of the bomb outrages in Calcutta, the Anglo-Indian politicians are attempting to frame new Acts of repression. The police, as though they have been affected by delirium, mistake every house in Bengal for a manufactory of bombs and proceed to search it. Every Bengalee appears to them an anarchist. The discontent of the people increases in proportion ot to the occur-rence of these strange deeds. Not only in Asia but xxxxin Europe also indications of revolution did not manifest themselves in a short time. The Government themselves should determine whether the unrest is likely to aid the progress of the people or check it. The English were never subject to such a calamity. The English politicians never had to solve such a problem. The future of the English depends on this unrest. May the English politicians, at least in the interests of themselves, behave with caution?

"Ship of despotism."

6. The NAVAYUGA, of the 28th May, compares the Government to a ship cast on troublous waters, and observes:--"The sails of this ship have worn out to some extent, damaged by the series of arrows discharged by the SWADESHI preachers. This ship is encircled with the flames of discontent caused on account of severe punishments imposed on the editors of newspapers. It is not possible to

determine the future course of this ship ~~xx xxx~~ because the black clouds formed by administering one kind of justice to the Faringhee and another to the Indian. God only knows how to conduct the ship under the circumstances.

"What is to be done?

"The adoption of 'punishment policy' by the Government at the very outset is the cause of the present situation. They deported the sons of the country without any trial, etc. Mark the extreme boldness of the young men prepared to contend with the ruling power with the help of bombs. They are not at all afraid. They are prepared to joyfully sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their country. There may be forthcoming many thousands more of such people. It is clear that there is no use of repressive measures are approved of ~~by the people. It must~~ the Government. The Government must see that their measures are approved of by the people. It must be understood that laws which are a thorn on the side of the people cannot last long and that Governments exist for the benefit of the ruled and not for the rulers. Though the Government is aware of this natural law, they are immersed in delusion. If they do not follow this law, they are sure to meet with a calamity."

VI. MISCALLENOUS.

Difference between a democratic and an autocratic Government.

9. With reference to the announcement of Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons that the Government has decided to give an old age pension of five shillings per mensem for every Englishman above 70 years of age, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th May, writes:--The estimated expenditure under this head nearly comes to nine crores of rupees and yet this has been sanctioned by the Government because it is representative in character and so has to be afraid of popular displeasure. This clearly brings out the difference beetween England which is under a democratic Government and India which is under foreign rulers who drain away all her wealth. For, in India, the Government does

not extend its helping hand even to those who actually die of starvation during a famine!

A conversation between a bomb outragist and a press representative.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th May, reports the following conversation to have taken place between a press representative and Mr.U.K.Dutt, one of the accused in the bomb outrage case:--

Question:- What is the reason of your acting like this?

Answer.--To safeguard the interests of our motherland.

Q.--Why should you commit such horrible acts to protect the interests of your motherland?

A.--Our aim is to root out the British altogether.

Q--Had you been thinking about this from a long time?

A.--Yes. Our idea was to revolutionize the Government.

Q.--When do you expect the revolution to take place?

A.--It must happen very soon. It may happen within five years, or it may take fifty years to come about.

Q.--Do you now feel sorry for your present lot?

A.--Not at all. Why should I feel sorry? If an opportunity occurs even now, I will act in the same way.

Q.--If you are let out now, will you repeat your acts?

A.--Yes. What doubt is there?

Q.--Are you not afraid in the least?

A.--No, not in the least.

Q.--What work were you doing?

A.--I manufactured bombs.

Q.--Had you any hand in the offence against the Lieutenant-Governor at Midnapur?

A.--Yes. It was I who made that bomb.

Q.--Did you throw the bomb?

A.--No. Other people did it.

Q.--Why did you not throw it?

A.--I was not ordered to do so.

Q.--Who is is that orders you?

A.--I cannot say that.

Q.--What grudge had you against the Lieutenant-Governor? What harm did he do you?

A.--Why should there be any special grudge? Is he not also a white?

Q.--Will the bomb outrages continue their avocation?

A.--Wait and see. You will understand it yourself.

Q,--Have not the Police dispersed your gang? What can you do hereafter?

A.--You should not think so. I do not know what all would have happened in our gang after I was arrested.

Q.--Was it you who shot the Magistrate of Dacca?

A.--No, It is some one else.

Q.--Why did you shoot him instead of throwing a bomb on him?

A.--We thought a revolver was enough.

Capability for self-protection is a SINE QUA NON now.

11. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th May, writes:--President Roosvelt, in addressing the Congress once said that the essential quality of every nation must be the capability to protect itself, and this can be well applied to India in its present condition. What will be the position of the Indians if, to-day, Britain withdraws its suzerainty over them? Surely being unable to protect themselves. They must become subject to the first foreign invader. After the advent of the British Raj, the Indians have been completely disarmed, so that they cannot now have any weapon even for their self-protection. The Indian sepoys are maintained only to bear the brunt of an attack under the leadership of the white, but never to lead an army themselves. Even the number of these sepoys is only one and-a-half lakhs, and what is this for a population of thirty crores? Thus, the British Raj has made the Indians a set of effeminate people who must ever depend upon a foreign nation to protect their homes. Not only this, the ruling whites have drained away all manliness from us by reducing us to an object slavery. Otherwise, will a Mappilla bandyman in

the Nilgiris suffer himself to be murdered by a planter? Thus, many are the instances in which the Indian ~~xxxx~~ have become the victims of the rage of the whites, and not even in one case has any Indian standing by the side had the courage to help his countrymen? But this helpless condition of ours may prove harmful to our rulers themselves. For they have too many enemies in the world, and any moment they will have to face an invasion by any one of them. Though England may be strong in her navy, she cannot cope with an equally strong foreign invader. Now if the Indians have become effeminate as they are at present, it is the British Government that is the cause of this. But one thing is certain, and that is that if India acquire SWARAJ her people will naturally acquire manliness and a capability for self-protection.

"Revolutionary methods--the PIONEER"

12. Referring to the attitude of the PIONEER, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 22nd May, observes:-

"This paper has been untiringly denouncing the founders and workers of the Congress ever since 1885. Unfortunately as some revolutionary methods are now revealed, it takes advantage of the occasion to give vent to 'fiery' remarks. In connection with the disturbances of 1906 in Russia, it wrote that the Government would foment ~~xxxxxxx~~ an revolution all the more if it should try to wreak vengeance on the people. See how bold this paper is! Since Russia is an enemy, it approved of the opposition of its people against their sovereign. Further, as the PIONEER and other English papers have been commending and publishing accounts of outrages that take place in Europe, ~~xxx~~ some of our youths mistakenly believe that they might be perpetrated and get themselves into difficulties. As regards India, the PIONEER prompts the Government to enact the most cruel law, the like of which has not been passed anywhere else in the world. It should be enacted, it says, that for every white man killed by the revolutionists, the Government should execute ten black men. Ah! The kindness of theis paper towards

us is indescribable. Probably if the entire power were in the hands of this paper, it would break the skulls of the Indians as though they were so many cocoanuts. However and cruel the proposed Act may be, we may accept it if it can be applied to white men as well, when they kill natives. Then, the white men will not treat the lives of their native servants as mercilesssly and indifferently as they are now doing with impunity."

The prosecution of newspaper in Bengal and Bombay.

13. The NAD GANNADI, of the 23rd May, says:--The Government of Bengal has again commenced its campaign against the newspapers. Whenever there is any trouble in the country the newspapers are made the victims (of the wrath of Government). The condu ctors of three Calcutta papers--the SANDHYA? the YUGANTAR and the BANDE MATARAM--are under trial. This new epdidemic has spread to Bombay also, where the editors of the HINDU SWARAJ is being prosecuted for seditious writings a second time, no sooner he came of goal after suffering imprisonment for the first offence. The editor of the VIHARI is also under trial

The unrest in Bengal.

14. The NADEGANNADI, of the 23rd May, says that the Govern-ment is under the impression that the anarchist plot is a widespread one and that some of the influential men in Bengal have been help-ing the anarchists with money. But it appears that the mother of Birendra Kumar Ghose, who claims to be the leader of the gang, is a lunatic. Anyhow there can be no doubt that one who thinks be can drive the British out of India by killing a few Europeans is a lunatic.

A feeling of insecurity has been created in the minds of the people of Bengal by the indiscriminate searches and arrests of made by the police. In some cases these searches are made open-ly in others they are made clandestinely. It appears that the match factory established by Rash Behari Ghose, one of the most

respected citizens of Calcutta, was searched for bombs under the presence of inspecting the factory under the Factories ~~[illegible]~~ Regulations. The panic-stricken men are afraid of their own shadows.

There is a rumour that several men of the anarchist gang have taken refuge in Chandernagore.

All kinds of ~~xx~~ arbitrary orders are made in Rangpur owing to the panic that prevails among the authorities. No Indians, it appears, are allowed to walk with sticks in their hands after 9 p.m. or to walk in the streets inhabited by Europeans after that our, and whoever is found so walking is to be kept in custody till the next morning.

The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 23rd May, in a leading article, strongly condemns the anarchist plot and says that the India has derived numerous benefits from the British rule and ~~th~~ therefore the Government is entitled to all the support which the Indians can give. The present unrest is attributable to the wicked deeds of a few European officers. ~~Thexpresentxanarchist doing-should-not-be-taken The-present-unrest-is-attributable-to the-wicked-deeds-of-a-few-European-officers.~~ The present anarchist doing should not be taken as an indication that the Indians as a whole are disloyal. The INDIANS should rememberx that they cannot at present get on without the help of the British, and the authorities should on their part be forbearing and while showing no mercy to the actual offenders ought to bear no illwill against the whole race.

The partiality of the English Judges towards European offenders.

15. The MYSORE STAR, ~~ofxthe~~ has a leading article under this heading, in which it says that one of the chief causes which have brought about a dislike for the British Government in the minds of the Indians is the partiality shown to the European offenders. When a European and an Indian are accused of one and the same kind of crime, the European is invariably acquitted or let off with a nominal punishment while

the Indian is punished severely. The article then refers to three recent cases in which such partiality is unmistakeably evident, viz., the assault on Ranghah Gounden of Ootacamund, the assault on an Indian lady by an Inspector on the railway, and the assault and consequent death of the Mappilla bandy-driver in Gudalur, and then comments at great length on the last case.

For the week ending 6th June 1908.

No. 23 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Official blunders.

1. The HINDU, of the 2nd June, contains the following:--"The SPECTATOR (London) in the course of an article on the Policy of Assassination, which we have reproduced in full on another page, remarks: 'A Magistrate who provoked insurrection or assasimation is a bad Magistrate, and is as little likely to be promoted as an English official who is always provoking questions in Parliament.' It will perhaps be edifying to the writer in the SPECTATOR to learn what has actually occurred in this Presidency in the case of officials whose blunders have led to breaches of the peace. Mr. Wynch, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly, and Mr. Ashe till recently his lieutenant had, it is now notorious, not a little to do with provoking the recent disturbance in Tinnevelly. And yet the latter has been raised to a Collectorship, and the former has been publicly hailed as a model District Magistrate. The English official of Cocanada who, by his ungovernable temper, provoked serious rioting has certainly not suffered on that account. The quondam district Magistrate of Salem who, by playing with a cheetah played also with a life of an innocent old woman, and who has raised serious doubts as to his methods of dispensing justice between Europeans and Indians, is surely not going to be debarred of his chances of promotion. We may also cite in this connection the case of the Principal of a Government educational institution who, by his deplorable want of tact, wrecked the career of scores of his students and thereby earned the plaudits of Government."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

Prohibition of SWADESHI preaching.

5. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th May, observes:--Recently Mr.Goving Dave, a SWADESHI preacher from Poona, was prohibited by the Police from preaching at Palamcottah. What harm can be done to the Government by preaching about SWADESHI matters? Perhaps the Magistrate issued the order in view of the recent riots at Tinnevelly. But, then, can peace be maintained only by prohibiting public meetings? Have not the people been sufficiently punished for the riots and are they not paying for an additional Police force also? Even after all this, if the people are not to have the right to meet in public places, the order of the Magistrate must only be considered to be autocratic in its tendency. In every country which has a representative Government the Police and the Magistracy are intended to protect the rights of the people and it is only in absolute monarchies like Russia that these are allowed to tease the people. It has come to be the order of the day for the Police in India to interfere with every SWADESHI preacher and tease him unnecessarily. But the SWADESHI spirit will not wane in the least by the unnecessary teasing of the Government, the Magistracy and the Police. On the other hand, it is only growing stronger in proportion to the oppression of the officials.

(d) Education.

The Government and education for the masses.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th May, writes:--It has now become patent that Englishmen are not for the education of the Indians and the Government also appears to be of the same view. The fact that Earl Percy and Lord Hobhouse openly expressed in Parliament that much need not be spent on education in India, and the fact that no mention at all was made of this subject during the budget debate in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, only

confirm this view. Some years back the Indians who had higher education never cared about the education of the masses, and so the Government looks with suspicion on the pertinacity with whibh these very people demand it now. Perhaps the Government is afraid that, these-ve if the lower classes are also educated it willenable the present SWADESHI preahhers to disseminate sedition among the masses. But we should think that, though it will surely help the lower classes to realise their present condition and ask for a redress of their grievances, it will help them more to improve their own industries and thereby prevent the foreigners draining all their wealth. So it is very necessary that the masses should be educated. It is strange that the British Government should hesitate to spend money on this head, while every other Government regards the education of its subjects as a first charge upon its treasury. But we must not sleep over the affair ourselves, though the Government does not take any interest in it; for unless the masses among us are educated, it is not possible for our country to improve and attemp for us are a to have SWARAJ. So, it behoves us to make strenuous attempts to give free education to the lower classes without depending on the Government.

(k) General.

8. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th May , observes:--The Magistrate seems to have ordiered Mr.Chidambaram Pillai to be brought before the Court to examine him as to the necessity of his calling such a large number of witnesses; and when this order was duly communicated to him, he pleaded inability to obey it on the ground that he was suffering from dysentery and that the doctor had advised him not to move. But the Superintendent of thejail would not listen to this and appears to have told him that, if he did not at once go he would have him dragged to the Court. On this Mr.Chidambaram seems to have walked to the Court with the greatest difficulty and complained tothe Magistrate about the way

The treatment of Chidambaram Pillai in jail.

in which he was treated by the Superintendent of the jail, and we do not know what action was taken upon this. But anyhow this appears hard indeed in view of the fact that the trial of Mr. Chidambaram Pillai is not yet over and that he has not yet been adjudged an offender. Who is to be responsible for all these hardships caused to him now, if he is acquitted eventually?

The bomb outrages at Calcutta

9. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th May, while commenting on the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta xxx says:- English wild animals are xxxxx crying for the blood of the Indians and the Police and the Government are also adopting unnecessarily hard measures to root out the alleged conspiracy among the Indians. But whatever may be the hardships we now suffer, we can relieve ourselves from them without having any necessity to commit horrible acts. When we have intelligence and are strong in numbers, we can achieve our objects by the use of our estimable qualities of patriotism and self-sacrifice. We will be committing a serious error if, without doing xxx this, we foolishly take to shorter but more harmful ways of attaining our object. So manliness, strength of will and union are the only qualities that will now lead us to a fruitic of our aspirations.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th May, writes:--The English papers in London and the Anglo-Indianx papers in India are unanimou in stating that the recent horrible events are the immediate result of the seditious preachings of the extremists, and therefore recommend that not only all members of this class, but also every paper conducted by them, must be completely gagged. But when these say that the Extremists are the cause of the present state of the country, they do not care to go deeper to find out that which gave room to the rise of the Extremists. Thus, granting that the theory of the English papers is true, how can the present state of the country be improved unless the evil which caused it is cut at the root? How long is it possible to continu the Government with no public meetings and no criticism of the

press? The best way to remove the present discontent of the people is, as Mr.Dutt remarked, to grant 1893 them the privileges they ask for and to rule them with sympathy. After 1893, when the Legislative Councils were reformed, the policy of the Government has become more and more oppressive. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin, the English officials had their own time of it, thereby causing the greatest inconvenience to the people and curtailing their liberties almost to a vanishing point. This liberty given to the English Officials to tease the Indians as so many worms continues to this day, and the result a feeling of distrust has begun to grow in the minds of the people. Thus the causes of the present unrest are deeper than the preaching of the Extremists and it is regrettable that none of the Anglo-Indian papers have taken the trouble to point this out to the Government.

The INDIA, of the 16th May, remarks:--Mr.Romesh Chunder Dutt is reported have said as follows with reference to the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta:"I anticipated these things already. The conviction that the Government is not going to reofrm the administration of India grew strong in the minds of the Indians who were already discontented, and this is the result. The present condition of the country will only get worse unless substantial reforms are carried out on the principles of self-government." This gentleman is one of the leaders of the Moderates and, as such, well disposed towards the present Government. That this gentleman should have made the above remark clearly disapproves the theory that the preachings of the Extremists are the cause of the present state of affairs. When absolutism goes beyond certain limits, a certain section of the population naturally takes to cruel ways like bomb-throwing. So, what is the use of blaming for this the Indians leaders of the New Party whose motto is "Endurance is our best means."?

With reference to the resent bomb outrages, the INDIA, of the 16th May, observes:--We regret to note that some of our countrymen in Bengal have taken to these babbarous acts. But it is rank stupidity to say that these are an outcome of the

spirit of SWADESHI, the system of boycott and the x preachings of the New Party. The bomb has no connection with the SWADESHI spirit. It is entirely a foreign innovation and originated only in foreign countries like Russia. From the evidence of the outragists themselves, we see that all this is the result of the atrocities of the officials. Even Mr.Gokhale, a Moderate as he is, stated before the Viceroy that the Government is becoming more and more Russian in its tendency. If, on account of this, some hotheaded men also take to Russian methods of retaliation, how can the leaders of the New Party be hix held responsible for it? Though we do not wish to have anything to do with this Government, we have to agree with it in opining that these fxxxx fatal instruments ought to be allowed to be used in the country. This cannot be done by merely punishing the accused in the present case. The whole system of Government must be changed. Have our Government the strength of willl to do it?

The futility of repression

10. The INDIA, of the 16th May, says:--The PIONEER recommends the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to Madras also, and we do not know how the Government will view this suggestion. But, the more despotic the measures of Government become, the more clearly will it open the eyes of the people to the fact that the Government is a foreign and irresponsible one, and we hope the Madras Government will bear this in minds.

The Press--English and Indian--and the Government.

11. With reference to the prosecution launched against the VANDE MATARAM for sedition, the INDIA, of the 16th May, writes: The Government has scented sedition inxx an article entitled "The New Spirit" published by this paper. But it must have known that the ASIAN, an Anglo-Indian paper, has been blaspheming our popular leaders most ixx insolently and advocating the infliction of beastly punishements on them. What action is it going to take

upon this paper for having tried to create illfeeling between twoclasses of His Majesty's subjects? It is shameful that it should act on the principle: "If broken by the mother-in-law, it is a mere earthern pot; but if it is done by the daughter-in-law it is a goldern vessel." Such being the case, what is the use of the Governments crying that our people are growing disloyal? Perhaps it is not aware that everyone of its evil acts is sure to redound upon it.

The Englishmen and the Indians

13. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th May, observes:--Mr.Keir-Hardie, while speaking at Arbroath, stated that many of the poor people in India have a meal only once in two days. If this is true, is it not the duty of the Government to inquire into this? But somehow the Government does not admit that the Indians are suffering, though it recognises the poverty of the country. Even with regard to this poverty, the Government does not admit that it is the British rule which is the cause of it, but says that it is the result of the people unnecessarily wasting their money on occasions and refraining from taking to new ways of earning. It is not strange that the Government expresses itself thus; for, it has wantonly despoile our people of all their means of living, and will it now admit its own misdeeds? The annual income of an agriculturist in India is only Rs.20, while the amount spent by each man in England on wine alone is Rs.60 a year! That is, the Indian ryot does not earn even one anna a day and with this how can he have two meals a day? Even granting that he has, is eating the only item of expenditure for a poor labourer? Has he not to provide cloths for himself and his people? Has he not to educate his children and does not require money for occasional expenditure? So, practically with this one anna, he can have only one meal for two days, and if he is to fast like this, how can he work long to earn his living? But how can the foreigners who are rolling in wealth realise the poverty and sufferings of the Indians? Their only aim is to be robbing India of her

wealth till she has lost her last pie and the British Government is also conducted only on this principle. Mr.Keir Hardie said that India is maintaining 8000 Englishmen. But the fact is that she is practically maintaining 5 croresof men in England; for, beyond those in the service of Government, many are those that take away lakhs of money from all the country by means of trade, and they do not stop with thus taking away all the wealth of the country. They beat us, kill us, treat us most insolently and even prejudice the Government against us.

Whipping for the Indian agitators.

14. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st May remarks:--In ancient times, the king and his officers were men of the same race as the people, and therefore always acted with due deference to the comforts of the people. But now, as we are under a foreign Government and are groaning under many hardships caused thereby, it is necessary that some persons should come forward to advise the people on their present condition and exhort them to stand together and try to better themselves and it is only these few that are now called agitators. In this view, every congressman whether he belongs to the old or the new party, becomes an agitator. Even the Swami Sankaracharya, who is also preaching unity and even Muttiya Das, a boy preacher, become agitators. These agitators are working in the interests of our country and so deserve our sincere ~~our sincere~~ admiration and respect. But still the very mention of the names of these agitators provokes the Englishmen. When this is the feeling of the Englsh men towards persons whose only fault, if fault it be, is that they preach to the people about the ways of bettering the state of the country, how can they tolerate the conduct of persons who actually threaten the lives of the whites with dangerous instruments like bombs? ~~Naturaly, the lives of the whites w~~ Naturally, they impress on the Government the necessity of at once passing such laws as well sweep down the whole gang of these agitators in one stroke. Among the many suggestions made in this

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direction, that of the ENGLISHMAN, an Anglo-Indian paper, deserves the attention of every Indian. This paper suggests that all persons who are regarded as agitators by the Government, should be summarily punished by the English Magistrates without any trial, by being tied to a tree in the public road and whipped openly by the street weeper, and that such punishment will remove all possibility of the common people having a good opinion of the agitators. A very intelligent suggestion indeed! Perhaps the whites expect the Indians to be coolly fanning the white Magistrate when their leaders are being whipped! What can we say to these rash people if they think so? Perhaps they have forgotten that once the heads of the Whites rolled like cocoanuts in Northern India. Perhaps these papers who advise like this do not come under section 124-A as creating bad blood between two classes of His Majesty's subjects! Perhaps the Government and the Magistrates who punished the editor of the PUNJABEE do not think that the ENGLISHMAN is, by its remarks unnecessarily creating ill-feeling between the English people, and the Indians! According to the present view, men like Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and Chamberlain in England, should also be considered agitators and yet bronze statues have been erected in honour of their memory, while the Indians agitators are to be whipped by the street sweepers. What impartial justice!

The British robbery of the wealth of India.

15. The INDIA, of the 23rd May, writes:--The moment we resigned our Government into the hands of the foreigners, we also resigned all our means of living and the result is that we are gradually getting poorer every day and dying in crores owing to plague and famine. As for the benefits that have accrued to the people after the advent of the Britsh Government, we cannot lay our finger even upon one, and it is no wonder this is the case, for no one, who knows the avaricious and hard-hearted nature of the whites, will expect that they will disinterestedly help the people of any country which has come under their control. Some

fools may regard the railways, the post and the telegraph as some of the benefits of the British rule. Of these things let us first take the railways and see how far it is a benefit conferred on the people. Really this must be considered to be a drain by means of which the whites da xa draw away all our sources of ~~livng~~ living from here to England, and this is evidenced by the following facts:--

First of all, three-fourths of the capital invested on the railways belongs to the Englishmen, and so every year nearly 15 crores of rupees are taken away by these people in the shape of interest on their money and not a pie comes to us.

Secondly, every material required for working the railways is bought in England and thus it is the iron merchants of England that gain by this. The only mmm money that goes into the hands of the Indians is the wages x paid to the poor labourers.

Thirdly, even with regard to the construction of, tk and the establishment maintained on the Railways, the major portion of the money spent goes into the pockets of Europeans and Erasians who receive fat salaries while the Indians are never paid more than Rs.20 or 30 at the most. Thus many are the ways in which the railways hxxx have proved a source of profit to the whites, while they despoil our people of all their wealth. This would surely not happen x in a country xx which has SWARAJ; for, every pie spent on and earned by a railway will be enjoyed by the people of the country. So, the only thing that can save us now is SWARAJ.

16. The INDIA of the 23rd May, remarks:--The idea that the misdeeds of the Government will not become known to the people if the native newspapers, and especially the vernacular ones, are completely ruined, has now caught hold of the Bombay Government also. This MODUS OPERANDI of the Government only resem-bles the idea of a mother that she can remove the stomach-ache of a child which is crying on account of it, by thm throttling it and thus

Press prosecutions in Bombay.

preventing its crying! It is ludicrous that the Bombay Government should meet the statement that the administration is getting more cruel than the Russian rule, by the words of an old husband to his fifth wife, "I know you do not love me now; but anyhow you must begin to love me." But the acts of the Government are such as to provoke us wantonly. What can be done?

"What is the cause of so much boldness?"

17. Adverting to the daring confessions of the accused in the bomb outrage cases and their utter indifference to their lives, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 29th May, observes:--"We must now find out the reason why they do not care for their lives. Even those who are well versed in the Vedanta philosophy cannot be so indifferent to their 'bodies' as they. The causes which led to their recklessness are two: the Government's disregard for the people is one, and the consequent despair of the people is the other. Such despair as this would not have seized the hearts of the people if the Government had respected the words of the people instead of disregarding them. Despair is a bad thing. So long as there is hope, man cares for life, does not act wickedly, communicates his grievances to the proper authorities, out of love of life and obeys the regulations of society and Government. When a man comes to know that he is helpless and that there is none to listen to his grievances in spite of his many prayers and memorials, he is seized with the 'devil of despair'. When once he is influenced by it; he is no longer sane. Despair prompts him to commit suicide and goads him to take others' lives. If the Government, therefore, conduct the administration more liberally, having the welfare of the people at heart and without resorting to repressive measures, both the rulers and the ruled will be happy."

18. The DESABHIMANI, of the 2nd June, contains the presidential address of the 17th in Kistna-Guntur District Conference, in which the President emphasised the necessity of reviving the old congress and commended its ideals to the acceptance of his audience. He said that though we must not depend upon others, we could not always get on without help from the Government. He remarked that the only practicable ideal is the self-government, under the protection of the British Government, and suggested that the people must be well educated and that progress must be gradual. He pointed out that it is English education that made us what we are for which we must feel thankful to the English Government, and added that great caution must be exercised in preaching new ideals and that must respect must be shown to the leaders inspite of the dictates of conscience which are not always reliable. He praised the nationalists for the work done by them, and took the Moderates to task for their inaction and indifference. In conclusion, he remarked that the disregard of the Government for the welfare of the people has been the cause of the present calamitous state of affairs and that the Government could secure a firm basis only if they paid greater attention to public opinion.

Presidential address of the 17th Kistna-Guntur Conference at Tenali.

The DESHABIMANI, of the 4th June, reproduces the presidential address delivered at the Kistna-Guntur District Conference in continuation of what was published in a previous issue:-- The President said that the people were actuated by an eager desire for such privileges as are enjoyed in England and other countries but as there were still defects in the nation, he added they must make necessary efforts to remedy them. He suggested that national union was the remedy for all such defects and stated that the people could not hope to improve themselves unless they worked unitedly though there might be many differences among them. He emphasised the necessity of education, particularly techinical education. It was pointed out that the efforts of the Govennment towards the advancement of technical education were meagre and that the people must therefore supplement the work of the Gov-

ernment. He remarked that the new Universities Act does not ~~affor~~ afford as much facility as before to poor people to prosecute higher studies, and that as the policy mf the Government seems to be to restrict higher education, the people must make independent efforts for its advancement. He commended the effortes to start National College at Masulipatam and suggested the formation of national schools in important towns in all districts after the model of the one at Rajahmundry,x though it might not be easy to follow the model of the one intended to be started at Masulipatam. These must be affiliated to the National College that might be established hereafter. Further, he recommended to start small schools and libraries in every village alsa also.

The DESHABHIMANI, of the 5th June, 1908 reproduces the presidential address delivered at the Kistaa-Guntur District Conference, in continuation of what was published in the issues of the 2nd and 4th instant. Referring to petty quarrels that often arise among Indian merchants, the President remarked that they lack honesty and gratitude which characterize the Western merchants and enable them to carry on profitable trade. He said that unless SWADESHI articles were patronised, SWADESHI industries couldxx not thrive. It was pointed out that SWADESHISM means the encouragement of native artizans and the supply of all possible wants with SWADESHI articles, but does not imply hatred for foreign artizans and articles. He explained the reasonableness of encouraging the available SWADESHI articles to the exclusion of foreign ones and said that the people must improve their manufacturing skill and utilise their raw products in the manufacture of cotton goods, soaps, etc., He complained that the export trade of the country is mostly in the hands of the foreigners here and advised the Indian merchants to deal ~~di-~~ directly with foreign merchants in the matter of exports, and added that even though the Government might wish to encourage SWADESHI industries, it is but natural they would not do so for fear of opposition from English merchants. Remarkable Remarking that the Government spend very little on education,

he suggested that the grants and pay of teachers in primary schools should be increased and primary education made free and compulsory. Referring to the Irrigation Bill now under the consideration of the Government, he pointed out that it entirely overlooks the rights of the people regarding water-courses. As regards fuel, he added that it was within the power of the Government to reduce its price, which is enormously high now, but they are bent upon making money, undertaking even petty trades though it is quite derogatory to them.

The Kistna-Guntur District Conference.

19. In a leading article, the DESABHIMANI, of the 4th June, observes:--"During the third day (30the May) of the Kistna-Guntur District Conference held at Tenali, one of the resolutions passed is: 'As our people have no voice in the administration of our country, as the resolutions at the meetings of xxxx our people are disregarded by the Government, and as the Government do not give proper encouragement to the development of our industries, the English-made goods should be boycotted by our Indians as far as possible.' Before passing this resolution there was another reso luton; 'This conference firmly believes that boycott of foreign goods is the chief means for the improvement of the SWADESHI industries and is of opinion that foreign cloths and foreign imports, such as sugar, soaps, candles, porcelain vessels and wines should be boycotted for the present.' This was passed unani mously. But when the first-mentioned resolution was proposed advocating the boycott of English-made goods, some of the leaders were 'perplexed' and tried to drop it advancing various reasons, but when it was put to vote, there were 174 delegates for, and 19 delegates against, ax the resolutions.

It is therefore, clear that those who have any respect xxx for the resolutions of the District Conference must not buy English goods. Some might think it to be amad resolution, which it is not. Though we have a xxx nominal Emperor, yet we are governed by the Xxgxxx English people who are traders, that is, we are governed

by the Parliament xxmixxx consisting of the representatives elected by such people. The English merchants live by the wealth acquired by carrying on trade with Indian merchants. When the source of their maintenance is affected, they may seek for the reason thereof, and finding that the Indians have made use ofx the weapon of boycott, to check the oppression of the English authorities, they will see some reforms introduced into the Government of India, if they realise that Indian money is necessary fortheir existence. Even if they keep quiet, the Indian xxkmx industries can surely develop and India will grow prosperous."

"My interview (imaginary) with the British king.E

20. The NAVAYUGA, of the 4th June, published in imaginary conversation between Vighneswara x (belly-god) and His Majesty King of Britain:--

K-- Well, Vighneswara, why are your countrymen throwing bombs on our countrymen?

V.--What can I do? It is like the war of the Mahabharata brought about by ourx own people. Sanjaya's emabassy is finished. Krishna's embassy is finished.

K.--Do you km mean to cause us still more sorrow by praising wicked actions?

V.--(in verse) As Bengal was partitioned perversely in spite of the remonstrance of the people, a great fire has raged. I can only say that your affectionate children (people) who are the personifications of arrogance, will fall a prey to it, but I am not saying (it) out of pride to proclaim my strength. You will be witnessing all the rude actions your children and grand-children do. ~~You-will-be-witnessing-all-the-rude-actions~~

K.--What, you are frightening us still more with your hard expressions.

(Aside) Ah! who will listen to my words here? My people long ago set at nought my power. Theyx respect me only so long as I do not interfere with their affairs and freedom. Otherwise, they might, I fear, become more seditious than these.

V.--"Sir, our country is not a plaee to harbour sedition, What exists there now is not sedition. If the King does not disturb the happiness of the people, but protects them from difficulties though enjoying his own comforts, not only will sedition dimsappear from the land, but he will also be worshipped as if he were an incarnation of God.

K.--In that case, will it be of any advantage if one of my sons were to govern you directly.

V.--We cannot say what the state of affairs may be if your son governs India after its connection with England has severed. Even in that case, if he governs with the advice of the peopel and in accordance with their wishes, without giving thex room to partiality, but lightening the burden of taxation, peace will then reign in the country.

K.--What is the good of our princes going there if you have no intention of continuing xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx your connection with England? Are there not in your country princes competent to reign? Are there not princes who can win your allegiance? Is it your opinion that prinees like the Maharajas of Mysore and Baroda are not competent to govern you?

V.--I suspect that the differenees among ourselves may not be adjusted. Everybody is competent to rule. There is no distinction of black and white in that matter. However if the kingdoms of these native princes are extirpated and if all people are placed on the same level in point of poverty, skill and power, then they may perhaps become devoid of pride and be influenced by a feeling of common nationality, to work for the same ideal, and be qualified for SWARAJ.

A mutiny took place in the year 1857 because many native kingdoms were annexed. Then the people helped the Government agai against those princes. Now the native princes will stand by the Government against the people.

K.--If you do one thing now, you will be benefited. Compromise with the native prinees and assure them that their kingdoms will be restored to them if you attain SWARAJ.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

23. A leader in the KERALACHINTAMONY, of the 23rd May, observes that before detailing the misery and misfortune to which the small State of Cochin is exposed owing to the importation of officials from British service and to unnecessary British interference there, it will be necessary to set forth the manner in which the British administration has been carried on since 1858 the date of its firm establishement in India. The poor natives were deluded for ever since into a belief that the Government was settled (limited) and was intended for the benefit of the people. The establishment of the Legislative Councils consisting of popular representatives, the Local and Taluk Boards and Municipal Councils were calculated to inspire them with hope. The people were under the impression that their reasonable wants and aspirations could be fearlessly represented to the rulers and that even if they failed to obtain redress from that source they might bring the matter before the British public and Parliament from whom they expected a just and impartial hearing. But Lord Morley remarked in a speech delivered last year that Government of India should ever remain personal. This pronouncement has disillusioned all the intelligent men and shaken their confidence in the British administration. The administration of a country cannot be deemed constitutional and limited by the mere fact of the establishment of Legislative Councils to enact certain law to compass the object of the foreign administrators and to become obnoxious and harmful to the people at large and the administration as it obtains in India is virtually tantamount to that obtaining in Russia. The article remarks that the imposition of heavy assessments, the enactment of laws unnecessarily militating against the liberty of the people and the partiality totheir own race which is the cause of the above measures; in other words the compulsory importation of foreigners to fill all high offices in the land, each in itself powerful enough to bring about all the confidence of the people in the hope-inspiring promises held out by the rulers from time to time.

Native States and Britsh policy.

The British administhe Brit administration itself being in such a deplorably low state it is no wonder that the representatives of the British Government do not attempt and withhold their consent to improve the administration of the Native States under them. As the native rulers with the exception of but one or two have all lost their ii sense in their excessive admiration for the whitemen they do not initiatee any reforms in the administration of their States neither do their Diwans, who are deputed from British service, on t-he principle that they cannot ay any reform effect improvement superior to that existing in British India, attempt to improve matters.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"The Indian youngsters are not anarchists."

26. With reference to the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta, te SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd May, remarks:--Though the majority of those who recently committed the horrible outrages at Calcutta are only youngsters, it must be admitted that all the Indian youths are not always rash in their acts. So the Englishmen are not justified in saying that Khudiram Bose and the other accused in the Calcutta case are a set of mx nihilists and socialists. The anarchists and socialists of Eruope are not only hostile to Government, but also insist on the extinction of all distinctions in society. But Khudiram and others, for aught we know, do not seem to have any such feeling. Their acts have been actuated chiefly by the unnecessarily cruel punishments recently inflicted on the Extremists by the European Magistrates. So, this is only a particular feeling created by certain occurrences and does not at all warrant the conclusion that these men are completely actuated by anarchist sentiments.

27. The INDIA, of the 23rd May, reports its London correspondent to have written to it as follows:--Some days back, patriotism was at a very low ebb in the south of India. But now it has taken a deepxx root there, as is evinced by the fact that the people have been able to work successfully a SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company, In other countries patriotism and the capacity to work upbig enteprprises form a passport for securing the respect and good graces of the Government. But unfortunately our Government views such qualities in its subjects with jealousy and hatred.

Patriotism in South India

28. The INDIA, of the 23rd May, says:--The Maharaja of Dhurbhanga, when giving his opinion to a Press representative about the recent bomb outrages at Calcutta, said: "I am ready to uphold any measure passed by the Government to root out disloyalty, disaffection and anarchism. In my opinion, all those writings which tend to create a feeling of hostility to Government in the minds of the people, must be strictly suppressed." It may be that as a members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the Maharaja feels it his duty to uphold every act of the Government; but we are only surprised to see the Maharaja recommend a fresh law to suppress the seditionists when the existing laws are more than enough for the purpose! Then again it makes one laugh to hear the Maharaja say that he will uphold such a measure if it is inaugurated. Perhaps he thinks this law will not be passed, if he does not support it! It isa known fact that persons like the Maharaja of Durbhanga are only so many puppets in the Viceroy's Legislative Council and that, even though these oppose a measure with all their might, the European officials, will not care a jot for it and will carry their proposal through successfully. Perhaps our Maharaja has forgotten all this!'

The Maharaja of Durbhanga on the bomb outrages.

29. The INDIA, of the 23rd May, publishes a cartoon which describes SWARAJ as a thing held high up by a rope by the officials which the Moderates have been trying for the last 23 years to reach with no success and which the Extremists are now attempting to have by wresting the rope itself directly from the hands of the officials, and says that the means adopted by the latter is an easy one indeed.

The Extremists ' way of attaining SWARAJ is the easiest one.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th May, writes:--The TIMES says: "We are sure the Government of India will not in any way be affected by the present unrest and get frightened by the bomb outrages into granting privileges which ought not to be given. The English officials in India are even now helping the people most disinterestedly to get over the effects of the famine, not even caring for the hot sun or the abuse of the Indians." What solicitude and what self-sacrifice! Are not these people paid thousands of rupees every month for doing their duty, and is it not Indian money that is spent towards mitigating the effects of the famine? When these people are paid amply to do their work, how is it possible for them to refrain from helping the people in times of distress? If the people die of famine, who will then work for these officials If India loses all her people and becomes a deserted place, how are the 8,000 Englishmen, that now find employment in India, to live, and where will the Englishmen find a market for their goods which are now imported into India? Thus the statement of the TIMES that the English officials in India do their duty disinterestedly without any motive is not at all true. Even granting that it is correct, perhaps the TIMES does not see that famines have begun to occur in the country only after the advent of the British Government, as a result of its heavy taxation, wasteful expenditure, and destruction of the local industries. Thus, it is not very laudable that the English officials should

The TIMES on the present situation.

work strenuously to relieve the distress caused by famine, which, in its turn, caused by themselves. Then again the TIMES says ; "The responsibility of the officials is increasing daily; but yet they have to bear it." Who asked them to bear it? The peopel are crying out that they are prepared to share the responsibility with them, and why should they not grant their request and lighten their own burden?

Messrs. Gokhale and Dutt in England.

31. With reference to the visit of Messrs. Gokhale and Dutt to England the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th May, remarks:--It is now two years and six months since Lord Morley became the Secretary of State for India, and yet he has all along been trying to make the Government more and more autocratic and not democratic. When the Prince of Wales stated, after his return from tour through India, that that the administration of India could be conducted on smoother lines if the authorities ruled the country with a great amount of sympathy, Lord Morley expressed his complete concurrence with the views of the Prince. But still, it is only after this that so many disasters have occurred in India. We were warning the Government at every stage that its headlong career would lead to such disasters; but it never heeded our note of warning. Even now the Government is continuing in the same course and the sufferings of the people at the hands of the police are only increasing every day. Did persons like the Sir Charles Schewan, who pose as friends of India, take any trouble to impede Lord Morley's tendency towards absolutism? Messrs. Nevinson, Hooper and Keir-Hardie, who visited India, when questioned as to why they could not intercede with Lord Morley and advise him to change his methods of Government, said that they had not the courage to oppose him openly as their party had already received many benefits from him. ~~How are these going to do anything for India now many benefits from him.~~ How are these going to do anything for India now and what help can Messrs. Gokhale and Dutt expect from them in representating to Lord Morley

the present state of affairs here? It still remains to be seens what all this will come to, and so let us pray to the Almighty that everything will end well.

Relations between the Englishmen and the Indians.

32. The VEERAKESARI, of the 31st May, commenting on an article in a Missionary paper, says:-- The Missionary organ says that the people of India can never get the freedom they want without the goodwill and consent of the English. This is ridiculous. Freedom can be obtained only by self-help, self-reliance, self-denial and hard work and not by dependence on others. It is sheer impertinence in the foreigners to occupy the land of the people and say to them that they would not grant them any liberty. Again the Missionary organ says that the Englishmen have no other object in view than that of making the country happy. To occupy our land, to deprive us of our means of livelihood, to make us destitute, and to carry away our wealth in large quantities to their own native land--is this to make our country happy? To beat and drag us, to give evil advice to Government, to trample us down, and to dig a grave for us--is this making our country happy? Which country benefits by such acts? Whose country is impoverished and reduced to a cemetery? How different it would have been if the advice which the Missionaries give us gratis had been impressed again and again upon their own white brethren and had themselves acted up to it. There would have been no bomb outrages which have so profoundly stirred not only the handful of Englishmen in India but even those at home. There would have been no disturbances whatever. Why is there this disorder, injustice, inequity, wrong, trouble, oppression of the subjects which send a cry of woe to the heavens? All Englishmen are not Hyndmans, or Sir Henry Cottons, or Nevinsons, or Keir-Hardies or Ripons, to follow in their actions the principles which the Missionary organ attributes to the Englishmen in general.

The same paper gives translations to the following:--

(1) An article headed "God's gift" from the YUGANTAR as reproduced by the MADRAS TIMES.

(2) A part of the speeches of Subramanya Siva, the accused in the Tinnevelly sedition case, entitled, "The Standard of SWARAJ on the Himalayas" and "The Bleeding of the People".

(3) Two letter said to have been received by the ENGLISHMAN signed by one Virendra Krishna Ghosh.

(4) A handbill entitled "Cash Your Notes" said to have been distributed in Bombay.

Russian methods adopted in India.

33. The NADEGANNADI, of the 30th May, has a paragraph which runs thus:--The enemies of the Government in Russia have very cunning ways of accomplishing their object. They enlist a number of women as spies and by their means deceive the Government. In Bengal also it appears that the police are employing women to defeat the attempts of the people against Government officials. The condition of India is gradually approaching that of Russia and the ill-will between the Government and the subjects is increasing. It behoves the Government to stop this and inspire confidence in the people.

The opposition of the authorities to the improvement of the Indian industries

34. The NADEGANNADI, of the 30th May, in another pragraph, says:--Every official, from the Viceroy downwards, says that it is the duty of the Government to encourage the industries of India. But neverthëless in practice they oppress the preachers of SWADESHISM. Every one now is convinced that the disturbances in Tinnevelly were due to the spread of SWADESHISM. Last week the Police arrested and prosecuted a SWADESHI preacher of 16 years of age. Such acts of interference in the exercise of the people's rights are not calculated to inspire respect for Government but will surely bring evil upon the country.

Another paragraph in the same paper says:--As the Police in Bengal are indiscriminately arresting people on suspicion and subjecting them to all kinds of annoynace, a certain person

who found the Police watching him committed suicide by throwing himself on the railway line. Innocent men look upon the oppression by the Police as worse than death. The bomb outrages and other crimes in Bengal, which were hitherto unknown in India, are due to this lawlessness of the Police. We do not know why the Government looks on with indifference on such acts.

"The apprehended revolution"

36. The VEERAKESARI, of the 31st May, has a long article headed:--"The Apprehended Revolution," in which it expresses great sruprise at the murderous doings of the Bengalis and says that such doings are opposed to the very nature of the Indian people. It then goes on to describe various ridiculous acts expressive of profound fear which the Police and the Europeans (Faringheis as the article styles them) are doing from panic, and winds up with an exhortation to Government keep their heads cool and not to be vindictive, but on the other hand to enquire into the causes which must have driven a peaceful and timid nation to acts of violence. It further says that in the reign of Queen Victoria when anarchists attempted the life of Her Majesty the tact and forbearance of Lord Beaconsfield, who refused to punish the offenders, saved the country from disorder. The article then says that whole trouble in Bengal is due to the partition to which is also attributed the rise of the national spirit which is destined to save India in the future.

The bomb outrages in Bengal

37. The SWADESABHIMANI, of the 1st June, after expressing horror and indignation at the attempts made to assasinate the Lieutenant-Governor and others by means of bombs, says that crime can never be the means to achieve SWARAJ, and that people's rights should be established only by unity, mutual helpfulness, generosity and ability. Continuing, it says we are not yet fit for SWARAJ and in order to become capable of self-government we want the help of the British Government. We ought not to forget that our

present advancement is due to that Government. In spite of the anarchism showing itself in ka corner of the country the people as a whole are still loyal at heart.

When the SeditiousM Meetings act was being discussed in Council, statesmen ik like Mr.Gokhale warned the Government against such secret sedition. It was not wise on the part of Government to have given pain to a whole nation by such acts as the partition of Bengal and such enactments a as the Seditious Meetings Act.

The real criminals should be surely dealt with, but to uproot disaffection there is only one means, and that is sympathy. As long as the Government listen kindly to the grievances of the people, the people will be contended and give no romm to seditionis. An opportunity is now open to Lord Morley to blind the Indian nation to the British Government in bonds of love. The settlement of the question of decentralisation is in his hands. The scheme for reforming the Legislative Council is awaiting his consideration, and he is in possession of Indian opinion on both these questions and Mr.Gokhale than whom there is no greater Indian patriot or more loyal subject of the Government, has gone to England to represent that Indian opinion. We hope that Lord Morley will take his representation as the voice of the people and arrive at a decision which will be worthy of his statemenkslike qualities, his liberal principles and his sense of justice. What the future India is to be entirely depends upon his action at this juncture. Even the recently conquered country of Transvaal has been granted af self-government, and has been indissolubly bound to the empire by bonds of Gratitude, which are stronger than millions of troops. It is for the British Government to show by action that they are in sympathy with the newly-awakened aspirations of the Indians.

The Tinnevelly disturbances

38. Tak The SRI KRISHNA SUKTI, afor March, last in writing on the Tinnevelly disturbances, attributes them to the doings of the local officers at the instigations of the opponents of the SWADASHI Steam Navigation Company and to the prohibition of the celebration

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of Bipin Pal's release. It then goes on to say that the present strained relations between the rulers and the ruled are due to the acts of the Anglo-Indians who come like a step-mother between the father and the children and tries to alienate the affection of the fommer from the latter. It is the haughtiness, jealousy and rudeness of these (Anglo-Indians) that is the cause of the whole trouble. The editor prays that the Government will give up the policy of punishing the people in every possible case and enquire calmly into the causes of the prevailing discontent and try to xem remove them.

39. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 23rd May, mhs observes that inacoordance with

Remarks on the recent events in Bengal.

the saying "Out of evil cometh good" the recent events in Bengal vehemently denounced and declainec by many in no measured terms will be productive of some good results. They have at least been instrumental in attracting the waning attention of the British public to India and Indian affairs, It must be conceded that the Bengali youths have misunderstood the state of certain things and that the hand of the clock of adminis-tration will be set back in consequence of their folly. But if we consider the insults heaped upon the Bengalis by Anglo-Indian writers from Macauley downwards, we need not wonder that some hypersensitive spirits among them have set their heart upon removing the national stigma unwarrantedly cast upon them. The Bengalis who were characterised as effeminate and cowardly are now being likened to Zakka Khels by the PIONEER. What has happened in so short a time as two years to turn these docile Bengalis into a veritable terror to Europeans--fit to be extirminated by wholesale shooting as the ASIAN would have it. There is evidently an awakening and a regeneration in India, and it would be wellfor Indian and English alike if the latter would gauge the true state of affairs and act accordingly.

Remarks on the measure of retaliation suggested by the PIONEER.

40. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 23rd May, says that the suggestion of the PIONEER to shoot ten natives for every European life destroyed merit consideration, if the same principle will be applied to native when Europeans inhumanly murder natives. Indians will have no objection to sacrifice ten lives for one in that case.

Repressive measures will only increase hatred and discontent.

41. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 23rd May, observes that the rulers are under the mistaken impression that there is no valid ground for discontent and unrest in India, but it all fostered by certain seditious preachers and writers. They seem to forget the fact that unless the fule is dry it cannot catch fire, and so if there is no real ground for disaffection no amount of preaching and writing can create discontent. Would any Indian believe us if we were to say that the MADRAS MAIL and the MADRAS TIMES are papers sympathetically disposed towards Indian aspirations Repetition of an untruth will never make it txxx true. Obnoxious laws are abundant in India. Are we to keep quiet without agitating for their removal? Will not the danger become graver if we assume silence, fearing xxx an increase of rigour. ~~Actions follows principles and if we assume silence, fearing an increa~~
Actions follow principles and if persons are arrested for such actions the best place of abode for honest men under such a Government is the jail. The new conditions will not be satisfied with the old administrative machinery, the maintenance of which at present affords justification for unrest. The real secret of the success of the agitator is the autocracy of the ruler. As Macauley said, "A good Government will always produce only moderate politicians."

42. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 30th May, refering to the unpompromisigg attitude assumed by Anglo-Indian publicists and others who are urging stern pepressive measures to curtail the freedom of the Vernaacular Press, which is characterised as an agency of xx for disseminating sedition in the land, remarks that in view of the past conduct of the Government, which have always x allowed themselves to be led blindly by the Anglo-Indian papers, it is to be feared that gagging measures are in contemplation. Repressive measures only tend to engender and increase hatred towards Government. Cowards alone will be silenced by repression. There are certain vernacular organs that indulge in unlicensed language towards Government and they are x being persecuted and made to pay the penalty according to law. But if on xix this account the whole Vernaculsr Press is going to be subjected to repression by gagging measures, the ranks of the few Extremists will be swelled. It is almost evident that most of the Indian patriots are not afraid of the horrors of the jail. The rumour that Indian anarchism was w engineered from Vancouver is x indeed a European invention in consonance with their clamour that Indians should be excluded from that country. The coolies and others who go to that place cannot be credited with so much intelligence and skill. The European officials in the land do not understand the true nature of the Indians and they are ever prone to believe that the Indians are a bad lot disaffected and dissatisfied with the British Govennment If Indian administration is to be carried on smoothly and efficiently a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled is very essential. Every endeavour should be directed towards the attainment of this end. Government should take the people into their xconfidence and show greater sympathy, xxp in order to root out the existing discontent and unrest. It is not possible to repress by cruel punishment the patriots who are actuated by the noble desire of improving their motherland.

Freedom of the Vernacular press not to be curtailed

For the week ending 13th June 1908.

No. 24 of 1908.

THE ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

III.LEGISLATION.

1. The HINDU, of the 9th June, contains the following leader:-

The new laws.

"The proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council of yesterday as narrated to us by our Simla correspondent, yesterday and to-day, form much unpleasant reading and contain bitter food for reflection by all Englishmen and Indians alike who are interested in the welfare of this country. It was on Saturday last that the public throughout the Empire knew as vaguely as could be managed, what the nature of the business was which called forth the members of the Imperial Council to an urgent meetings on the heights of Simla. Only three representatives of the people found it convenient to attend and they had barely 24 hours' notice of the projected measures of legislation. The public has practically had knowledge of these Bills only after they have been finally passed into law. His Excellency the Viceroy has assented to the Bill immediately on its being passed and before the public could even state their objections to such drastic legislation--which is what the law and the rules aim at in providing for such assent to validate the law. But all the rules of business were suspended and the utmost extent to which this provision can be used became manifest in yesterday's proceedings. It is also understood that the Act will be immediately put in force against the YUGANTAR. Such is the haste and secrecy of bureaucratic methods. In the excellent speech with which His Excellency Lord Minto wound up the debate, he observed: 'For us, the purdah of the east unfortunately hides much from public view. It would be better for us and for the many races of this country if we knew how to lift it. At present, we have failed to do so. We cannot but speculate as to much that it conceals. Yet it is important that our guesswork should not be hasty or unjust.' Is it not deplorable in the extreme, then, that the Government should not have taken the least trouble to ascertain what the public affecte

by this legislation have to say, but content itself with making most hazardous guesses in regard to the needs of the situation. That the guesswork has been most hasty is indeed a mild way of describing the extraordinary celerity with which the two Bills have been made into law. Has the guesswork also been unjust? Only a careful consideration of the provisions of the two Acts can show this. But this we might venture to assert--that, anxious as His Excellency is to see that the 'danger should not be misunderstood, that the canker that we have discovered shoudd be localised, and ~~t~~ that we should not jump to the conclusion that it has spread beyond the control of legitimate remedies' he has not escaped the effects of the advice of the panic-mongers, who, he himself, said, were 'making hysterical demands in the hour of danger.' Even if the situation demanded instant remedies, and even if, as was rightly contended, the procedure by way of Ordinance deprived the Government of the opportunity, which it says it is anxious to ~~deprive~~ have, of explaining the objects and reasons which necessitated the action--there is no reason whatever why the legislation should not have been of a temporary nature, so as to allow the Government to judge of its effects and the public an opportunity of showing cause against it. The principle of the Hon'ble the Tikka Saheb of Nabha's protest in this respect, has not been answered by Lord Minto, nor by Sir Harvey Adamson.

"Of the two Bills which have passed into law yesterday, the Explosive Substances Bill is one to which little exception will be taken by the public, and it had the ~~ordia~~ cordial support of the three non-official members. Though, as Nawab Syed Mohomed pointed out, the punishments in the Indian Act have been made severer than in the corresponding English Act, the Act is, as Sir Harvey stated, practically, idential with the English Act and the circumstances which have necessitated this additional legislation are also similar in kind. But as regards the Press Act, we fail to perceive that any case has been made out to warrant the very wide and dangerous provisions which the Act embodies. The Indian Press, we admit with the Nawab Syed Mahomed, is by no means perfect or near it. But is the objectionable conduct of a stray journal like

the YUGANTAR sufficient reason for imposing on the entire Press in India, the bulk of whom are respectable, loyal and law-abiding a law which arms the executive with the widest discretionary powers, liable to grossest abuses in the actual working? Let us realise exactly what this law implies. It was stated by Sir Harvey that the objects the Government have in view in making this law were the prevention of the manufacture of dangerous explosives and of writings inciting to such dangerous acts. If this is so, the Press Act should have been strictly limited in its scope to the incitement to acts which the Explosives Act contemplates. This, however, is not the case. Section 3 of the Act lays down that if any newspaper, in the opinion of a Magistrate, who is applied to by the local Government for the purpose, 'contains any incitement to murder, to any offence under the Explosives Substances Act, 1908, or to any act OF VIOLENCE?' he can proceed to inquire into the same and to seize and forfeit the press and printing materials by which the article was published. The words, 'any act of violence are not only extremly vague but put a dangerous and hitherto unheard of power in the hands of the executive, and its by no means scrupulous agents, the Police, to harass and to ruin newspapers and printers whenever they become obnoxious to them. The Government will usually make applications at the instance of the Police and when the application is made on the allegation that a newspaper has published an 'incitement to violence'-- violence varying from a threat, or assault, or use of force for purposes of self-defence, to murder and bomb-throwing--'on the authority of the Local Government,' very few Magistrates could be found to decline to proceed on information laid at the instance of the Government. When we add to this the power of summary attachment without inquiry and the power to authorise searches and seizures by the Police in printing offices, it is obvious that newspapers and presses are virtually placed at the mercy of the executive on whose good sense alone will depend the maintenance of the liberty, and the primary rights of property, of those connected with the press. . . . .

What the Act provides for is immediate confiscation, followed by a complete suppression of the offending paper. It is difficult to believe under the circumstances, that His Excellency has not yielded to the clamour of those around who have made 'hysterical demands' and has not succumbed to the taunts of weakness and fear which unscrupulous Anglo-Indians are freely flinging at him-"

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 8th June, writes as follows:-

Explosives and the Press

"If the two Bills which were passed into law yesterday at Simla are exceptional measures of legislation, the circumstances which led to their passing are both exceptional and surprising. The ~~whole~~ whole country from one end to the other was startled one day by the news of a fatal bomb explosion at Muzafferpur, which was followed by the still more startling discovery, made at Calcutta, of a bomb manufactory equipped with all the substances and implements required for the infernal purpose. It was impossible that the authors and instruments of this diabolical plan of outrage and murder roused any other feeling than that of horror in the mind of any civilized Indian, who had not gone off his head altogether. It appeared to cast a stain on the hoary civilization of India, and to introduce into the country a method of barbarism and violence repugnant to the most fanatic section of the population, a new terror would have been permanently established in the country--a terror to all who may have enemies--to the politician no less than to the official. The explosive substances act ~~xxxx~~ which became law yesterday is the direct and logical result of the new species of infamous crime which its authors probably did not expect so soon to be discovered and dealt with. The Government of India have the entire support of the country in this legislation notwithstanding every possible defect incidental to all hasty legislations of the kind and we hope that, in appreciation of this fact, the Government will take steps to remedy any real defect that may be a source of mischief in the hands of unscrupulous agents. The Bill has become law before the public ~~inxthexhandsxof~~ had time to consider its

provisions; before the membess of the Legislative Council themselves eould examine it in all its aspects. There is evident danger in such hasty legislation of overlooking unwelcome possibilities in the attempt to arrest an immediate evil. This is the only px caution which we feel it necessary to urge at the present moment; and this we do in view of the indiscriminate operations of the Police in Calcutta, and the alarm and panic which they seem to have needlessly caused.

"The other measures they passed yesterday, though justified to a certain extent by circumstances in Calcutta, is of less urgent necessity, and coudd have well waited for another week or two without any immediate danger. No doubt certain newspapers, notably the YUGANTAR, to which Sir Harvery Adamson gave a very profuse advertisement yesterday, have deliberately defied the law, without realising that the Government has at ix its disposal a machinery which it can swiftly employ to turn out any law it likes to circumvent those which they could expect nothing more than temporary satisfaction--a temporary sense of triumph.....

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

4. The LIBERAL, of the 7th June, publishes the following:--

European railway behaviour.

"It seems the Bishop of Birmingham has traced the unrest in India to the unsympathetic behaviour of some under-paid officials towards the Indians, the majority of officials being very sympathetic, generous, courteous and generally gentlemanly. Well, fortunately, the Bishop wants to look at the bright side of things and tries to congratulate the officials on their deserved position. But the Indians on the spot have to look both on the seamy side, as well as the other and have got their opinions. So long as the European is living by himself, nobody knows whether he is a gentleman by birth or not. But when once he comes into contact with the Indians his white feather is easily found out in all true colours. He is seen to be a boor with a veneer of culture about him. The railway train is the only place the Englishman and the Indians come into

personal contact. The European eagerly and anxiously expects some rupture with Indians and premeditates his course of action. The Europeans' brain is itching for adventures wanting to showhis purposes as much as possible. Natural outcomes of temper can well be excused. But the Europeans put up effrontery, the Indian can easily see through. The following incidents can be vouched for as to accuracy and truth.

"Scene,--A railway train standing in a wayside platform.

"Time.--10 A.M.

"Found seated in a second-class compartment Mr.and Mrs. Upstart. Enter an Indian gentleman with his luggage, as no other second-class compartment was attached to the train.

"Mr. Upstart.--(Addressing vacant air) Whose luggage is this being brought into this carriage?

"Porter.--Native gentleman coming, buying ticket, sorr, he going as far as Beswada.

"Mr.U.--Damn your native gentleman. Here is no place for him. Take away the luggage. Be off.

"Enter native gentleman.--(Dressed like a European and with a good swagger.) This is my luggage. Please allow me to enter, as there is no other second-class accommodation available. I am going to get down by 12 noon.

"Mr. Upstart.--(to Mrs.Upstart) What damned cheeky nigger fellows now-a-days masquerading in our clothes and talking English in high style. Fellows who ought to be doing some labour playing the official, ah!

"Mr.Indian.--Sir, if you mean to make any remarks on me, I am sorry I will have to ask the lady to be a witness and you do so at your risk.

"Mr.Upstart.--You rascal and humbug. You know the law, is it? Now if you talk any further to me I am going to kick you to pieces. The train is at a high speed and nobody is going to hear your damned throat.

"Mr.Indian.--I f you dare touch me, I know how to use my fists. At least, I can return two kicks out of your five. Mind what you say. Every word will be used against you in the court

of law and there is the lady who will not utter falsehood.

"Mr.Upstart.--Who is this scoundrel who is mouthing the lady so freely. Here, ~~tke~~ take this and show your blòody nàtive carrion. (Mr.Upstart gives a thumping blow on the chest of Mr.Indian)

"Mr.Indian.--Well lady, you are a witness to this. He has actually assaulted me for nothing. I dare say he will even kill me. I keep quiet. But at the next station--.

"Mr.Upstart.--Keep quiet, you black nigger and hold your tongue. Shut up those jaws of your or else I break your bones. You idiot, date to talk to a man like me.

"Just at this time the train reached a somewhat respectable station and drew up on the platform. The Stationmaster was known to Mr.Indian~~xxx~~ who was a frequent traveller. Mr.Indian called him, told him the circumstances of the assault and the abusive language. The stationmaster asked him his name, but the European refused. The stationmaster will not allow the train to ~~x~~proceed, until and unless his name was entered by the Police constable travelling with the train. Mr.Indian meanwhile changed his carriage The European gave his name:

"Mr.Upstart, Forest Department, Dustipur district.

"When the train reached Bezwada, Mrs.Upstart came running from her carriage, begged Mr.Indian not to report the matter and detain Mr.Upstart, as he was sorry for the language he used and the assault he caused. She requested him to forget the whole matter. Mr.Indian asked ~~fxx~~ her to bring her husband to the Refreshment Room where he shoudd make an apology verbally. Mr.and Mrs.Upstart then came to the Refreshment Room, gave Mr.Indian a treat of coffee and bread and shook hands with him, learning he was a landed proprietor of the place.

Scene.--The Beach Railway station.

"Time.--5 P.M. The ~~x~~Calcutta mail about to start.

"Found in the first-class carriage a Judge of a district with servants. Enter the servant of an Indian High Court Vakil of a long standing, bearing the luggage of the vakil.

"The Judge kicked the whole of the luggage on to the platform and wished the Indian at the devil.

"Enter the Indian gentleman who came near ~~xx~~ the door of the carriag

"Mr.Jugdge.--I don't want any native brute to keep company with me here.

"Mr.Vakil.--Here, peon change all the luggage to the second class. I will not travel withx an animal like that. Evidently, there is a drop too much in him. However, you shall keep company with your own equal. Here, peon, take this first-class ticket and sit in the same compartment. If the animal touches you or abuses you let me know. I will hand him over to the Police by telegram.

"The peon got in an sat opposite to the Judge and stretched his legs to his seat. The Judge kept both ends of his alimentary canal securely shut.

Scene.--The Judge's Court, Brutepett.

"Time.--11 A.M.

"Enter Judge at one door and the vakil of the previous day's railway journey at the other door.

"Vakil.--(finding the Judge was the animal of yesterday). I wish to transfer my case to the file of the next District Judge, for reasons known to the Judge. Otherwise I will have to move the High Court.

"Mr.Judge.--You are the man who travelled in the same train as myself yesterday. There is cause for this case to be struck off my file. Your case is transferred to the next court, according to application.

Scene.--An important junction.

"Time.--Midnight.

"Found three Europeans fully stretched on all the available seats and pretending to be fast asleep, one European standing at the door, preventing ingress of anybody. The servant of a Raja's relative brings in a bed and wants to enter carriage. The European gave a tap on the heads of the servant with a cane. Servant reported the matter to the Raja's relative who was speaking to a few friends before getting into the train. The Raja's relative was

highly incensed and went to the door of the carriage and gave a tremendous kick at the ~~fxxxxx~~ door by which it flew open and the European thrown backwards with considerable force. All the other three prentending bosses, got up and sat bolt upright.

"The Raja's relative.--(Getting inside). Come on, any son of his mother, I will ~~kxx~~ kick any brute who stands against my luggage being brought in. I will teach any fool a lesson he deserves.

"All the four Europeans.--Oh, please excuse us. We did not mean any harm. We played a joke thinking the servant made a mistake of the first-class for a third-class compartment. Pray, sit down and let us have a friendly chat.

"The Raja's relative.--Oh, is that you Mr.Competition-wallah. I met you in jamabundy work the other day. How did you get on with that zamindar?

"Mr.I.C.S.--Oh.' Capitally. He regaled me with a fine dinner and a capital supper. I had a good shooting on his estate.

"Scene.--The Central Station platform.

"Time.--6--45 P.M. Bangalore mail.

"Found two Lieutenants of the army in the first-class compartment. An Indian gentleman in Indian costume came near the door and shoved his own bedding inside and got in himself. The irate sons of war were suddenly confronted by a native whom they thought was a railway servant or clerk.

"Lieut.--get out of this, you son of a ------. This is no place for you.

"Indian.--Please allow me to inform you beforehand that I am a Judge and cannot take words from you for nothing.

"Lieut.--Judge or jury, you shall pack out immediately, otherwise we kick out the luggage and the Judge's carcas into the bargain on the platform.

"Indian (Putting his head out through a window).--Here, stationmaster or guard, please remove these two men to the second-class compartment and free me from their company.

"Stationmaster (whispering into their ears that he was a Judge). Please, gentlemen, come out into the next carriage, I shall refund the difference as there is no time to attach another first-class carriage. The mail is already late.

"Lieuts.--Alright, it will save us some money, which we want badly. Please show us the second-class immediately.

"Scene.--A wayside platform.

"Time.-- 8 A.M.

"A lady and a gentleman bought six mangoes and threw two annas towards the basket. The vendor demanded previously four annas and six pies. Mean while the train was in motion. The European gave a knock to the vendor and upset his basket and went away admidst the abuses of the whole by-standing vendors without paying the extra amount.

"The above scenes indicate all the Europeans to be of the superior official class. But their manners will not be creditable even to a restaurant waiter. Scratch their skins and you find the savage within. These are the men who are supposed to disperse justice and teach self-government. If such persons were not in Government service, they will be loafers mostly. The Bishop is utterly off the point."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The misdeeds of the Police will have their effect.

5. The INDIA, of the 30th May, says:--It appears the Police arrested Srijut Aravinda Ghose when he was abed with his wife. Perhaps the authorities have decided not to care for even the sanctity of the zenana. Can the dangers to the Government be reduced by thus wounding the feelings of chaste women? The sons of Bharata are now reaping the fruits of their previous KARMA in the shape of the atrocities of the officials. These officials will, in their turn, have to reap of their present misdeeds in the future.

6. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th May, says:--The whole world now knows how gentlemen like Mr.Lala LajpatRai and Mr.Nevinson were shadowed and worried by the Police. It now seems as if the Government has vowed to let loose the Police upon every man whom it suspects to be a patriot or to be an acquaintance of or to have anything to do with a patriot. Thus the leading vakil of Muzzaferpur has become an object of suspicion to the Police by reason of his having appeared for the defence of the accused in the bomb outrage case, and a Sub-Inspector of Police and some constables are watching his house day and night. Then, ~~durin~~ again, Mr.Babu Satya Charan, who accommodated Mr.Aravinda Ghose during the Midnapur District Conference, appears to have been subsequently worried by the Police Inspector with a number of questions. Does not all this show the state of mind of our rulers? Surely the words of Solomon that faith breeds faith and that distrust breeds distrust will never prove false.

Every patriot is shadowed by the Police.

7. The DESABHIMANI, of the 6th May, writes in English:--"It has become a fashion with the Police to obtain the signatures of the persons they examine in the course of an investigation, to the statements made by or obtained from them. As we have come across a large number of such instances, we feel it our duty to draw the attention of the authorities to the evils of such a procedure. It seems to us that the practice of obtaining signatures is not only not sanctioned by section 162 of the Code of Criminal Procedure but that it also tends to thwart the administration of justice. It is not difficult to understand the motive of the Police officer that acts in this manner, contrary to the express provision of the Code. The Police officer thinks, not unnaturally, ~~the maxim of these~~ that by getting the signature of the deponent, he has tied him down to a statement, which will prevent him from ever afterwards retracting it and that he has thereby improved his position with reference to the case. The turn thus given to a case at its incep-

The Illegal procedure of the Police.

tion is faithfully worked up till the final stage and is persistently sought to be maintained, regardless of the truth of the case. Very often a Police officer, who managed to get a certain statement from the deponent in a moment of weakness or helplessness due to a variety of causes, is emboldened to resort to various devices in order to compel a person, on a threat of prosecution, to adhere to his former statement. He is confronted with his previous statement signed by him and warned, in all seriousness, of the risk he will be running by realising from it. The witness is thus placed between two cross fires and he naturaly prefers to stick to his statement to the police, however untrue it may be, to avoid the displeasure of the Police, and to avert, as he is made to fear, the possibility of a prosecution. The Police officer this scores a point upon which he may, if he likes, congratulate himself. But the effect upon the administration of justice is disastrous, as truth is often suppressed and the Police officer gains a position of advantage over the accused. In our opinion, it is the overweening desire to secure conviction at all the cost that impels the Police to have recourse to a practice which is rightly condemned by the Legislature. It is high time that the authorities take notice of the conduct of these erring officers and enforce a strict adherence to the provisions of the Code. We fervently hope that steps will be taken to put a stop to practice which is threatening to become a scandal?

10. The NAVAYUGA, of the 11th June, writes as follows:-

Secret emissaries or secret thieves?

"It appears that in the Kistna-Guntur District Conference held at Tenali, spies were moving about freely. It is said that some spies went there as delegates, and moved about in the dining-rooms and at other places without restriction. One individual, in the disguise of a member of Kamma caste, wore coarse clothes posed himself as a newspaper representative, adorned the platform, and noted down all the proceedings. This traitor to the country

seems to have declared on the last day that he was a Police Sub-Inspector. Why should we not call him a "secret thief"? It does not appear how far the Government are going to be benefited by the help of these traitors to the country,"

"A spy caught in a trap."

11. The NAVAYUGA, of the 11th June, has the following imaginary dialogue:--"Four Police officers were taking with them a Southern Brahman whom they arrested. Among the Police there was also a big official. The Brahman young man was complaining to that big sirdar as follows:--

"BRAHMAN. Sir, I have not got any bombs with me. On account of defective intellect, I could not find any means of livelihood in these famine days and so agreed to be a spy on behalf of the Government. As a spy I earned approbation in furnishing information to them, in deluding the newspaper editors and in making them liable to punishment by the Sircar. I brought about my own ruin in endeavouring to establish the arbitrary Government of the English on a permanent basis.

"Police. What did you do?

"Brahman. I am an inhabitant of Tinnevelly. It is four months since I came here. I had some correspondence with the manufacturers of bombs at Calcutta. I gathered some information about this matter. With the object of cunningly spreading this bomb mania even here, I wrote the following letter to the editor of a native-owned English paper, which advocates the cause of nationalism--

"'Sir I am an expert in the manufacture of bombs. I should be very glad to work in the office of your newspaper. I shall always abide by your orders in all other matters. Expecting your kind reply,'" I am.,

Your humble servant,

DESOPAKARI (A BENEFACTOR TO THE COUNTRY) AIYANGAR.

In reply to this letter, the newspaper editor wrote to me asking me to pay a visit to him at once. Being doubtful as to how the editor understood my letter, I hesitated to pay him an immediate visit.

Police. What would the editor have thought of you?

Brahman. He must have thought of me thus: "He says he knows how to manufacture bombs. Why does he seek service under me? Why should he have informed me of this? Should he not have acquainted me with his qualifications to write articles if he would work in my newspaper office? From what he has written, I infer that he means to entrap me cunningly." So thinking, he must have written to me as described above. In the beginning, I did not consider so much. Having subsequently made enquiry about this matter confidentially, all this has suggested itself to me. With the object of punishing me for my cunning, the editor sent my letter to the Commissioner of Police requesting him to institute proper enquiries about me. Thereupon this calamity has befallen me.

Vigneswara. (Under the heading of "Vigneswara" some imaginary conversation is published periodically.) Ah! Spy! All your story is known. The Government have appointed you a spy. When you prepared to act most skilfully, the newspaper editor immediately recognised your weak intellect and handed you over to your co-workers that go about publicly. Can the Government now declare that you are the very spy they appointed and that you are not guilty? No. To do so will be derogatory be confidential. If you, who appear by your own record, to have really used your intellect and energy in the manufacture of bombs, have to be punished, the Government hesitate to punish you as they have instigated you to do what you have done. If they do not think of punishing you, it is derogatory to their honour. Since it is essential that the Government should maintain their honour, they have to punish you heavily or nominally.

O spies! Protect your lives carefully. You are thus becoming foes to the people. If times are against you, you become enemies to the rulers too. Why do you endanger your own lives by

by accepting the office of a spy, like this insane Brahaman, to injure the people of this country?

(b) Courts.

An Indian Barrister in the place of Justice Boddam

12. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st June, writes:--In reply to a question by Dr.Rutherford in the House of Commons as to why an Indian Barrister should not be appointed to the vacancy caused on the High Court Bench by the death of Justice Boddam, Mr.Buchanan stated that it was offered to an Indian Barrister but was refused by him. We now learn that the Indian Barrister, referred to in the above reply, is Mr.Chuckerbutty of Calcutta. This gentleman is a leading Barrister of the Calcutta Bar and he will not care to give up his present large income for the place of a High Court Judge and that in Madras. But herein is evinced the tact of the Government; for, it offered the post to one who would not care to accept it. None cared for this gentleman, when a vancancy occurred in the Calcutta High Court itself, because there was a chance of his accepting it! When there is Mr.Krishnan on the Bench of the Small Cause Court here who is in every way fitted to take up the place of Justice Boddam, we cannot understand why our Government should offer it to one in Calcutta, who, it must have known, will not accept it and then cry out "No Indian is available for the place

Justice and the Indians

13. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd June, observes:--Recently a soldier belonging to the regiment stationed at Allahabad, beat an Indian carriage driver to death in his inebrious moments and when this case came on for trial before the Allahabad High Court it was decided that the white had not committed any offence since he killed the Indian when he was in a drunken state. What injustic Are the lives of the Indians so valueless as to be at the mercy of the soldiers in their drunken state? Is there no man born who can teach these veritable drunkards a salutary lesson?

When injustice is so glaringly cast to the winds, how can the Indians be expected to be loyal towards the British?

14, The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th May, writes:--As Messrs. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva stand charged with sedition in our own Presidency, certain persons have been charged with conspiracy and murder in connection with the bomb outrage case in Bengal. But still the accused in Tinnevelly are treated more harshly than those in Bengal and other Provinces. Thus the Sessions Judge of Muzaffarpur released on bail Mr.Kishori Mohun Banaerjea, one of the accused in the bomb outrage case and again in Allahabad Srijut Badriprasad, charged with murder, has also been released on bail. But yet the Magistrate of Tinnevelly have been charged with is not so heinous as that with which the accused in Bengal and Allahabad have been charged. May we know why there has been this difference in the treatment of the prisoners between the North and the South.

Difference between Bengal and Madras.

d to grant hidambaram even when They have

(k) General.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th May, says:--The Whites and the Anglo-Indian newspapers get provoked if we point out that the former think that the Easterns are intended only to work for them, that they at times treat them like beasts and that the soldiers and the planters do not hesitate to do any harm to them But still out harping on the same string has not made the Whites improve. On the other hand, the more we criticise their conduct, the worse becomes their cruelty towards the Indians, and an event which occurred at the Kandy Railway station in Ceylon goes to confirm this view. There, a Military officer appears to have used his cane freely on the native booking clerk of the station for not having addressed him as "Sir" and also beat a native porter for having refused to call a constable to arrest

The Whites and the Indians

the booking clerk for his heinous crime! What a daring injustice!

The SPECTATOR ON the recent outrages.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd June, writes:--In comment-ing on the recent horrible outrages at Calcutta, the SPECTATOR, remarks:- "He is a bad Magistrate who discharges his duty in a way which tends to cause riots and murders even as he is a bad minister who always allows himself to be questioned in Parliament." Thus, it was because the Magistrates of Tinnevelly were bad officers, they not only caused riots but also ordered the Police to shoot down people. It was again the same incapacity of the Magistrate at Cocanada that led to his taking the side of a white and making much of the pranks of a schoolboy; and it was also the incapacity of the Magistrate of Salem that led to a woman being killed by his cheetah. But our responsible Government instead of punishing these Magistrates for their incapacity, has in every instance applauded their conduct. It would not have done like this if it had cared for the welfare of the people and the real strength of the Government, so it is clear thatit is only a partiality for their own race that actuates the British in their government of India and therefore it is no wonder that the Indians no longer regard the whites as beings of a superior orders.

It isnot the English education but famine that is the cause of the present unrest.

21. The INDIA, of the 30th May, writes:--The other day, a Yogi, while addressing an audience near the Moore Market, said, "Some pesons opine that the education given to us by the whites is the cause of the present unrest. It is not so; for it is the famine in the land that is the cause of the present feeling of discontent." This is quite true, because the education thatis imparted to our countrymen by the whites only tends to bring the links of our fetters more closely andis not such as will inspire a desire in us for liberty. Moreover the

←— lessons taught in the schools are only such as tend to create an affection for and loyalty towards our Government and not discontent and disaffection. So, it is wrong to think that the education imparted in these schools is the cause of the present disturbed state of the country. On the other hand, we think the state of the country will have been worse but for these schools. Thus, the real cause of the discontent of the people is famine. It is the feeligg that the Government has reduced the people to abject poverty that is working on their minds and making them discontented.

The treatment of the prisoners in the Tinnevelly riot case.

22. The HINDU NESAN, of the 21st May, observes:--It appears the prisoners who have been reman- ded to custody in the Tinnevelly riot case are treated in the worst manner by the Jail authorities. The jail rules require axpi a prioner to take the permission of the Superintendent only for sending a letter out of the jail and not on every occasion when he may have write. Still the Superintendent of the Palamcottah Jail seems to have objected to Mr.Siva sending a written statement to the Additional Magistrate. Then, again, he also appears to have warned Mr.Siva for having had a shave, even though the latter had taken a general permission from the Superintendent for this purpose. We also learn that he has now been removed from the ward which is intended for under-trial prisoners to the ward occupied by convicted offenders. Not only this; he has been asked to be his own scavenger as in the case of convicted prisoners. It is also stated that the prisoners in the riot cases are beaten most cruelly, and if they report this to the higher authorities, they are hand-cuffed and pinioned in solitary calls. If all these things are true, ←→ it behoves the Government to make a searching enquiry at once and prevent such atrocities being committed.

The present state of the country.

23. The INDIA, of the 30th May writes:--Originally the people of this country had a respect for this Government and were cringing for their rights and comforts under the impression that the Government would grant them for the mere asking. But the Government began to distrust these people instead of looking on them with a kindly eye. Then the popular leaders began to point out the defects and the misdeeds of this Government. Still the Government tried only to suppress these persons by gagging them and not to change its methods of administration. Then came the partition of Bengal which gave rise to the SWADESHI spirit. It may be that this was ~~commingled~~ commingled with a feeling of hostility towards the Government in Bengal. But in other provinces it was purely the outcome of a sense of patriotism and not of an inimical feeling towards the foreigners. The country ~~souls,~~ could, perhaps, have gradually improved, if the authorities had not meddled in this. But the subsequent acts of the Government clearly showed that it regarded the desire of the people for SWARAJ as implying a hostile sentiment towards the present Raj. Thus the Government has been trying its best to throw as many obstacles as possible in the way of the success of our boycott movement. It impeded the growth of national education by subjecting our national schools to all sorts of restrictions. It tried to gag the preachers and the press. All this led to the opening of the eyes of the people to their weak state, and made them realise the fact that their condition could not improve unless their country became free and this feeling, in its turn, made the people bolder in demanding their rights. The whipping of students, the looting of the Hindu temples by vagabonds instigated by the authorities themselves, and the apathy of the Government when even the modesty of our women was outraged, provoked our countrymen of Bengal and made them determine to take steps forthwith to improve the physical strength of their youngsters. The national volunteers were the outcome of this decision came to by the Bengalees, and even this ~~were the~~ body ~~came~~ became an eyesore to the Government and its friends who advised it to

suppress it altogether. This systematic attempt of the Government to block every reasonable effort of the people to better their condition created a feeling of disgust in the minds of some youths who began to organise secret societies to pay the Government in its own coin, and the result is now known to the whole world. Even now, if the Government will refrain from medding with the lawful efforts of the people to attain liberty, no serious harm can be fall any one. If, instead of this, it acts bad on bad counsel and arrogantly provokes the people like the Russian Government, India too will soon become another Russia.

The prohibition of the emigration of coolies to Canada.

25. With reference to the Government order issued on the 2nd ultimo, prohibiting the emigration of Indian coolies to Canada, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th June, remarks:--What has happened to-day in connection with Canada is sure to happen to-morrow in the case of every other colony, and the Indians are sure to be prohibited from emigrating to any colony occupied by the whites. The Canadian whites insisted on the expulsion of the Indians from their colony and the Colonial Secretary in England, not having the moral courage to go against the will of the Colonists, quietly asked the Government of India, to hide the fact that it has been forced to take this step, begins its order with a long preface dilating upon the inadvisability of the emigration of Indians to Canada. But whatever may be the attitude of the Government, we will rather prefer our countrymen dying here to undergoing all the suffering which they have in the colonies.

It is not justice alone, but equality and liberty too that the people require.

27. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th June, writes:--The LONDON SPECTATOR, in commenting on the recent outrages in Bengal, says:- "When the Indians come out to have a free fight to put an end to the British Government the British also may begin to use their 'Maxim' guns openly: But

still then they must continue to rule the country with sympathy andjustice." This implies that the British Government has till now been conducted with sympathy and justice. We should like to make two remarks in connection with sympathy and justice. We all, it is a lie to state that sympathy and justice form the basis of the British administration. Secondly, even granting that it is so, sympathy andjustice is also necessary. We do not want sympathy; for even a dog is treated by its master with sympathy and the Indians are not so low as to be content with it. We do want justice and we want equality of treatment and liberty of speech and action also.

Mr.Hobhouse on the present situation.

28. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th June, says:--He is of opinion that India has prospered a great deal under the British Government, and regrets that some persons who stayed here only for six xxx weeks or so--he forgets that his stay here did not last much longer--should have expressed a contrary opinion. Again he asserts that the Indians stay at home like quiet people and look after their agriculture only during the rainy season, but that they lock up their houses and go out into the forests to live by robbery and murder during the remaining part of the year. We do not know where he learnt this valuable truth about the Indians! He also says that it is a fallacy to assume that India can be regarded as one welded whole for political purposes and yet xx he adds that it is no easy work to rule over India with its thirty crores of people.. & Can a gentleman, who makes so many inconsistent statements in the same breath, be fit to be the Under Secretary of State for India ? As the INDIA remarks, it is a good thing that he has left that office.

Difference between French and English India.

29. The DRAVIDA DIPAM, of the 29th April writes:--Recently there was some unrest in Chandarnagore and the Acting Governor of French India went there to enquire into the cause of it. This officer, after taking down a statement from the local official, sent for the people and questioned them with regard to their grievances, After discussing with them the PROS and CONS of the situation, he came to the conclusion that the fault lay with the local official and not with the people, and held that the people were provoked only by the unnecessary order of the local official prohibiting SWADEAHI meetings and that if this was not done, the quiet of the town would not have been disturbed at all. This is what was done in the French India. Under the same circumstances in the English dominions, the authorities would have at once sent for the military police, prohibited all public meetings in the area, quartered punitive police on the place and teased the people awfully. Our readers may thus see the difference between the French and English India in the treatment of the people.

"EXpression of sympathy."

32. The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 5th June, observes:--"All people in India without distinction of colour are expressing their sorrow at the sad death, by bombs, of the wife and daughter of Mr.Kennedy at Muzaferpore. Who will not grieve at their death? Some of us are expressing our grief assembled in public meetings. We are of opinion that these meetings are unnecessary, because many Englishmen in India killed their native servants, either by kicking them or shooting them with rifles. Not even one in a hundred of such persons that committed murder received the punishment provided by law. Did any English man hold a public meeting and express grief at the death of the black men so killed? Are not meetings unnecessary in their opinion? Why should not our people follow them in this respect? These meetings are only intended to win the favour of the Government!"

33. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 7th June, observes:--"The Kistna-Guntur District Conference held at Tenali fully realised the new aspirations with which the whole of India is filled and it was apparent that both the districts took a forward step in the advancement of the new movement. When 174 delegates expressed their opinion in favour of, and 19 against, the political boycott, it was clear how soon the new movement has spread in the villages. The unanimous condemnation of the arbitrary proceedings of the clique of Moderates at Allahabad and of those of the Mahajana Sabha of Madras confirms how well the power of the people is developing. After what has taken place at the Conference at Tenali, who can say that the people in the mufassal cannot accept SWARAJ, national education, SWADESHISM and boycott? The resolutions were supported more by the mufassal delegates than by the educated town delegates. Whether the 17th Kistna-Guntur District Conference did anything else or not, it produced one useful result, namely, the creation of self-reliance among people, which is the key-stone of the national power, and removed all inddiference and suspicions towards the mufassal people."

Kistna-Guntur District Conference.

34. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 7th June, writes:--"During the session of the Kitna-Guntur District Conference, detectives made their appearance in crowds in disguise and accompanied every patriot like so many ghosts, even during the meal-time, and performed their duties. We offer our thanks to the Government for paying them and sending them to guard us. Who are these detectives? The fruits of actions of the patriots in their last birth have now manifested themselves as dectetives to closely follow them. "Oh! patriots! Your life is no longer the dream it was some time ago. The detectives are constantly questioning you as to your ideals and principles!' They are sounding the depth of the heart of every patriot with the question, "Will you sacrifice your-

"Whoe are these?"

self and save the life of the Indian nation, or will you save yourself and allow the national life to decay?" The time has come to emphasise the reality of the patriots' vow. A new era has begun in the Telugu country with the 17th Kistna-Guntur Conference. The lustre or the gloom of this new era depends on the answers the patriots give to the detectives."

"Acts of the police."

35. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 7th June, writes:--"The conduct of the police who attended the District Conference at Tenali afforded a great amusement. On the first day some of them entered the Conference pavilion without tickets of admission and when at the commencement of the session all the sons of India stood singing the VANDE MATARAM song, the police alone, though they are also sons of India, were sitting defying the public. This being their first offence, the Conference excused them. On the second day no separate place was alloted to them, but seats were arranged for them among the visitors. The Inspector, the Sub-Inspector, the well-known detective Inspectator Papa Rao Nayudu, Magistrate (Sub?), and the Station-house Officer sat among the visitors. They expressed their indignation to the executive committee for not being shown the respect due to their position. On the third day they wished to be seated among the delegates and required the volunteers to put aside their lathies. They threatened they would disperse the Conference if proper places were not given them, and the Inspector kept the police in readiness. They tried to gain everlasting fame by disturbing the Conference but the Executive Committee and the Secretaries patiently worked and cleverly defeated their machinations."

36. The DESABHIMANI, of the 9th June, observes that, when

"SWADESHI movement"

the resolution regarding the boycott of British goods was put to vote at the KISTNA-GUNTUR District Conference held at Tenali in the last week of last month, it was made clear that the village people were more sympathetic in the matter of encouraging SWADESHI goods than the so-called civilised townspeople. With the exception of the townsmen, all the delegates from the villages voted in favour of the resolution. SWADESHI workers are required more in villages than in towns. The paper is glad to note that the people of Tenali and Bapatla taluks are arranging to appoint separate SWADESHI lecturers. Some people would have one lecturer for the whole of the Guntur district and they collected some subscriptions. No work could be accomplished without funds.

37. Adveting to the efforts of the Government to suppress

'Unrest'

the unrest, the SWARAJ, of the 11th June, observes:--"Though the external symptoms of unrest were suppressed by several means, the agitation has not stopped. The statecraft and power of the government have diminished and they took refuge under the police and the magistrates. In addition to the already existing cruel Acts, the Newspapers Act will be passed to gag the press all at once. It appears it will come into force soon. Will all the natives become inanimate and keep quiet? We are at a loss to conceive how all the fire of justice that emits from the press will find vent. Though the mouths are gagged and fear is infused, would the hands remain unengaged? What is destined to take place will surely take place. We are at a loss to know to what bold deeds the Government may drive our most enthusiastic brethren. If the lecturers are not allowed to preach in the streets they will visit house after house and preach the power of the new spirit. If public meetings are prohibited, secret societies will be formed. We have been adopting the policy of passive resistance. But when the fundamental rights of man are attacked,

nobody knows ~~t~~what must be done. It is human nature to adopt what suits the times. Our procedure will be guided by the rival party. Patriotism and disloyalty are synonymous words. All the delegates that attended the District Conference at Tenali and those who xxx elected them also are disloyal persons. Would all the countrymen be quiet if one or two of them were arrested?

'Failure of passive resistence

38. Referring to the policy of passive resistance, which is the characteristic of the Indians, the xxxxxxxxxxxx SWARAJ of the 11th June observes:--"People who will sacrifice even their lives for their principles, began to increase in numbers. We resolved to depend on passive resistance until human rights are not disrespec ted. But even private meetings in private premises were prohibi-ted and the powers of the police were enhanced. Peace, privacy and liberty of society were rooted out. Heroic songs and even Harikathas (Divine stories) were prohibited. Detectives accompany people and drive them when they assemble at dinners or hold meet-ings, or collect subscriptions, or meet their friends, Whatever is written by them is true! Their lathies protect righetousness! Passive resistance cannot cope with such political blindness. There is a mutual conflict between our argumentation and their strength, our virtue and their mischief, our justice and their tynanny, our frankness and the duplicity, our poverty and their prosperity, and our courage and their wickedness."

"Interview with Mother India. Plan of the coming conflict.

39. The SWARAJ, of the 11th June, writes as follows:--"All people went into a sound sleep. There was no noise anywhere in the creation, except occasional roarings of lions, and howlings of jackals and wolves. The bats alone were in search of fruit trees. The whole creation was lifeless and though on account of fear of future calamities. Those who

were lying down around the tent remained motionless out of sound sleep and fear. The moon was invisible owing to the thick clouds. A lamp was emitting a flickering dimlight. A man was seated on a comfortable seat. He held a book in his hand, but he was not reading it. He was looking at the lamp on his left side. All the insects were attracted by its light, and they were all perishing. The pensive man saw that spectacle, bent his head sideways, breathing heavily, and exclaimed. 'It is fruitless, fruitless! Life is decaying and the enemy is gaining victory. Mother India! We have been deceived.' A demon seemed to have appeared before his eyes and he said 'Who are you? Are you the embodiment of goodness? Are you giver of happiness? Are you holding our happiness and misery in your hands? Mother, have you come to restore peace which has been distributed in many respects? Who sent you? Why have you come?'

"GODDESS.--'Myname is Bhadra Kali. I am myself the Mother India I am myself Parvati (born of a mountain) I ammyself Durga. I myself go by the name "Navasakti". I am worshipped as Mother India. I am come to relieve you of your suffering.'

"MAN.--'You are not Mother India. Mother India is of a gentle form. Your tongue is sucking blood. The skull in your hand, your sword, the garland of skulls around your neck, the belt of bones around your waist, your dark body and your eyebrows smeared with blood, are sucking up my courage. Your form is horrible and Mother India is of gentle form. I do not know what conjuring woman you are.'

"GODDESS.--Do not fear. I shall show you my real form. 'See'--manifesting herself in her gentle form--'I put on this horrible form to suit the times.'

"MAN.--'Mother India! Excuse me. I couldnot realise your subtle actions. You are the director of my actions. You are the bestower of boons. Mother! Many efforts became futile and courage is waning, no course suggests itself. How long will you test us still? Tell us how we can gain our ends, and grant us happiness. Alas!

"GODDESS.--'You will soon have ~~xx~~ victory. With courage'--

"MAN.--'Courage! Our hopes have been blasted. We were not able to cope with the strength of the enemy who threw obstacles at every step. Somehow, effect a compromise and save your sons.'

"MOTHER INDIA.--'Compromise! Effecint compromise! I would rather sacrifice all mychildren to the cruel sins of the enemy than tolerate compromise. This struggle has yet to increase. If compromise were effected, the national powers would decay. In this Bharatvarsha (India) there is no compromise with the enemy. Did you read your PURANAS? Did you study your duties? Was not Hanuman, who went to Lanka (Ceylon) to see Sita, able to to bring restore her to Rama? The world is bound down with destiny. The ways of God are inscrutable to humanbeings like you. Even if Sita were not there, the Lanka war would certainly have taken place. Even if Ravana (king of Rakshasas) were not born, war with the Rakshasas would have occurred. Ravana was the chief of the Rakshasas. He was a great devotee. But the race of Rakshasas had tobe rooted out. If Ravana had not taken away Sita, some other Rakshasa would have carried away at least a cow of the Aryans. The Aryans would have waged war against them on the pretext. That (Lanka) war created love ofjustice in our race. Such a great war never took place before, In that war, all the created beings were roused and encouraged to make war and they achieved victory. Was Lord Krishna unable to bring about a treaty in the Mahabharata war? Would war have stopped if Karna were informed ofhis history before hand? He tested the mind of Karna by preparing the Kauravas for war. God incarnated almost simultaneously in the form of Balarama and Krishna and siding the Kauravas and the Pandavas respectively, prepared them for war. To be brief, compromise cannot be effected and conflict cannot but occur. In conflict only, your race can secure natural (Power?). By this conflict only, the merit of your former births will become known. In this very conflict, the glory of your gentility will shine. When a conflict is imminent, it is quite natural for the people to become frightened in regard to (the discharge of) their duties, etc. On that memorable day, even

Arjuna was subject to affliction. If you do not perform your duties and uphold your national principles, itis all the same whether you live or die.

"So saying, she took out a garland of red lilies from her lock of hair, threw it on hisneck and disappeared."

40. The NAVAYUGA, of the 11th June, writes as follows:-

"The voice of the Kistna district?"

"To-day indeed, the representatives of the Government adorned the Kistna Guntur District Conference! Although this Conference has been submitting its resolutions to Government for the last seventeen years, they treated them as so many cries in the wilderness. Who perused those resolutions then? Ah! How the times have changed! How attentively the Police officers have heard the resolutions at the Conference! Besides, it is said that by appointing spies, they got all the resolutions taken down and translated for them. How much interest they take in the proceedings of our District Conference! What an irony of fate! Just when speeches were not intended for the Government, they took pleasure to listen to them. Just when the resolutions were not intended forthe Government, they took pleasure to listen to them. Just when the Empire ceased to be for the happiness of the Government, they were overtaken by fear. Ah! it is to-day that the endeavours of the Telugu people have turned in the right direction. Indeed, it is to-day that the voice of the people living ~~in the right direction~~ on the banks of the Kistna and the Godavari, who are said to be enveloped in the darkness of illusion, has gone forth in all directions. Indeed it is to-day that the voice ofthe inhabitants of the Kistna and Guntur districts has pierced the deaf ears of the rulers. May the voice of the people resound every minute and develop day by day."

41. A correspondent in the KERALA CHINTAMANI, of the 2nd June, referring to the utter disregard shown to Indian public opinion by responsible British

About the futility of attempting to gain the sympathy of the rulers.

Administrators, says, that it is a hopeless task to attempt to mollify their unsympathetic attitude or to create in them a healthy feeling of sympathy towards the people. It is alleged that Lord Minto, the present occupier of the Viceregal seat, said on one occasion, that not even a hundred thousandth part of their authority will ever be allowed to flag, however violent the public feeling of opposition may be. All our writing may go to grace the waste paper basket; but will not cause the administrators to alter their policy of oppression or adopt a new policy. How unworthy we must be to allow ourselves to be ruled by a nation inhabiting a distant land whose extent is only one-sixteenth of that of our country and submit with a grin to be insulted by words of the above description. Would they wag their tongues if we had discretion and fraternal feeling among us? Never! If we maintain steadfastly our position some Englishmen may, in consequence of the loss of India, have to starve or to reel like a top in utter destitution and to crouch at our feet. The Englishmen look upon India as their privileged storehouse from which they unhesitatingly carry away anything they may want at any time they like without any thought of replacing anything in it. We feel indignant at the taunts and abuses of those who eke out their ignoble life with the scrapings of the chatties and pots of Indians. It is painful to observe, nevertheless, our people exhibiting great apathy in a matter which calls for steadfast effort for the common good, in order to escape from the cluthches of men of this description, besides remaining enmeshed in the subtle witchcraft of the rulers. Should the poor Indians but realise their actual position, the correspondent is of opinion that most of the present evils would not have existed. He admits the lack of men of patriotism and determination who will exert themselves in an unflinching and lawful manner to impart to the mass the knoweledge of their real state and waken

them gently and effectually to a sense of their hard lot. There is a steady increase of newspaper editors who covet praise and patronage and they simply illustrate the common saying, that the assumption of various guises is merely to secure wherewithal to satisfy the inner man. The writer of the article proposes the organisation of a society for the amelioration and education of the masses, and to create in them a taste for cultivation and industrial and other occupations, and offers his gratuitous service for such a propaganda.

III. LEGISLATION.

The Explosives Act and the Press Act.

42. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th June, remarks:--It is rggrettable that the Explosives Act and the Press Act should have been hurried through the legislature in such hot haste without even the usual formalities through which Bills have to pass before they are finally passed into law. This shows clearly with what fear the Government of India views the recent events in Bengal and elsewhere. It seems the popular representatives on the Legislative Council knew of the measures for the first time only on the day previous to that on which they were intoruduced, and yet these Bills have been passed into Acts in spite of the protestattions of two of them that some time should be allowed for the public to express their opinions. We can only say thatthe Bills could not have become law so easily if either Mr-Gokhale or Dr.Ghose were in the Council on that day.

The Press Act

43. With reference to the Press Act passed last Monday, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22th June, remarks:--At least, in our opinion, whatever Sir Harvey Adamson may say, there was no necessity for such stringent rules to guide the conduct of the press and especially the Native press, because we know that this Ac t will not prevent the Anglo-Indian press from indulging in their usual

vilification of the Indians. Also the vague wording of some of the sections clearly proves that the Government has determined to root out all the newspapers owned or conducted by natives, no matter what means it adopts it gain that end.

44. The ANDHRADESARANJANI, of the 10th June, observes:--

"Laws annihilating freedom"

"No one will object xxto the passing of the Explosive Bill into Act. Butthis Bill must be so framed as not to make ti impossible to procure chemical substances xxx required for commercial purposes and technical colleges and xkxxx chemical laboratories. Otherwise, technical instruction and training in arts will altogether decay. Making due provision for such cases, the Government may pass any Act they please. As for the 'gagging of the Press' act, it appears that if the offence of sedition is committed a second time, both the newspaper in xxx which such seditious matter appears and the press in which it is printed will be confiscated and the security also will be forfeited. That is, for the first time, xxxxxxSedition will be punished either xkxx with imprisonment or fine. If it is repeated a second time, every property will be confiscated. If such a xxxunique devil of an Act comes into force, all the newspapers will soon disappear with the exception of a few Feringhee papers that are in the good dgraces of Government. Of those who attempted to destroy the freedom of the press, the Ferigghee newspaper editors are the foremost. This is very strange. That the very persons who have to fight for the freedom of the press should produce such writings, indicates that their heads are turned like that of Kudiram Bose who threw bombs. It is not difficult for these Feringhee papers to get themselves implicated under sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code. Their everyday writings are examples of the offences referred to in those sections. Only a strong, just and impartial Judge is required. Will not such a person be forthcoming sometime or other? To suppose that calamities like bomb outrages would come to an end by the gagging of the

Press is like the saying 'that teeth falloff by a slap on the back' The freedom of the press and of the speech is as necessary to the Government as to the people."

45. The ANDHRADESARANJANI, of the 10th June, writes:--"This Newspaper (Incitement to offences) Act confers absolute power on the District Magistrate, i.e., the Collector of the district, to suppress newspapers. In furture, the life of newspapers is in the hands of the Collectors. It is true there is an appeal to the High Courtagainst his order. Since the appeal is made to the High Court instead of to the District Judge, newspapers in the distant districts would be put to great inconvenience. The appeal is possible only if the persons affected goes to Madras leaving his house and all. Even if he goes and appeals, the time is limited to fifteen days. Moreover, will not those who confiscated the press prosecute the editor and printer under some other law? In that case, how can theywho are in jail prefer an appeal? The words 'acts of violence' in the Act are very elastic. They are susceptible of any interpretation. Why should such ambiguous words be used? The burden of proof that a particular writing does not come under this Act rests onthe editors of newspapers. This is opposed to allSHASTRAS. This upsets the principle 'Until theoffence is proved, all are innocent,' Further, how is the negative to be proved?"

Bills have been actually passed.

46. Adverting to the Newspaper (Incitements to offences) Acts, the SASILEKHA, of the 12th June, observes:--"Editors of newspapers and lecturers can be tried for sedition under section 124-A Moreover, this new Act also has come into force. Hereafter, the press that prints the newspaper which writes seditious articles and incites people to commit offences will be confiscated. Then the newspaper will cease to exist. That is, the editors of native

"New weapons"

newspapers will be entirely at the mercy of the police. The magistrate would listen to the advice of the police, and the Government would act upon the advice of the maki magistrate. When all of them combine together, can the case of the newspaper editors succeed? The vernaeular papers which are useful for persons ignorant of English x may very probably cease to exist unable to undergo the difficulties caused by the officials."

47. The BHAVANI, of the 12th June, writes as follows:- "A few Act which brings misery to all people in India was brought into existence in order to check the outrages committed by mean fellows. It is like setting fire to a house enraged at the presence of a rat therein! The result of the appointment of Indian representatives on the Council of the Secretary of State for India appears to be the passing of Acts without the knowledge of anybody. Setting aside all the regulations regarding the conduct of a Bill through the Council, the members of the Viceregal Council have passed this Act in a very unfair manner, having been excited by the cruel acts of mean fellows. It remains to be seen whether the British subjects in England tolerate this Act or impeach it."

"The New Press Act"

48. The NAVAYUGA, of the 11th June, says as follows:-- "Although Sir H.Adamson has said that the intention of the Government in passing the Press Act is to suppress the newspapers that write violently like the YUGANTAR, yet, on an examination of xx the several points therein dealt with, that does not appear to be their intetion at all. It is stated that incitement to any act of violence may be enquired into under this Act. The violence referred to in the Act applies equally to a murder and a simple threat."

"New laws."

V. PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND THE CONDITION OFTHE PEOPLE.

What is the cause of the famine?

54. The INDIA? of the 6th June, writes:--Owing to the stringent rules and the hardness of work in the relief camps opened by the Government during times of famine, many para poor people prefer begging in the streets in or doing times of work to being maintained by the wages earned in the relief camps, while some others emigrate to distant countries to eke out a livelihood. Many again die in the relief camps themselves, not being able to do any work, and therefore not getting their rations properly. Besides this, the lower officials wantonly report a lesser area, than what is actually the case, to be affected by famine, with a the motive that they will be pleasing their superiors thereby. In spite of all this, the number on the roll of the relief camps is always enormous. But we can safely assert that the proportion of those who go to the relief camps of Government for aid to those who are affected by famine is not even 10 per cent But yet we see that lakhs of people flock to these camps to work for half wages and quarter wages and these camps have become almost permanent institutions since famine has come to stay in our country. Now the question arises as to what is the cause of the frequency of famine in India. The answer has been given by eminent persons like Dadabhai Naoroji as follows:--

(1) The losses which accrued to India from the British trade from the time of the East India Company.

(2) The losses resulting from the extravagant expenditure of the British Government.

(3) The losses we had to, and even now, incur owing to the fact that the trade of the country and its Government are both in the hands of the same party and that a foreign nations.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

58. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd June, remarks:--Sir, Charles Elliot, who was for some time the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has written as follows to an English magazine about the present unrest in India; "The Englishmen must now longer believe the Indians to be a set of meek and submissive sort of people. The recently developed cruel phases of their conduct must be met by stringent measures of Government. The contagion has spread even to the sepoys, and if strong steps are not taken to suppress this spirit of the people, we may have eventually to strike a heavy blow to preserve our Empire in the east. The first step in this direction must be to gag the vernacular press. The cases in which the Europeans are assaulted by the Indians are increasing now and not even in one case has the Indians been punished. This must be suppressed." This gentleman is now peacefully settled in London, enjoying a handsome pension granted by the Government of India, and these words of his clearly show how grateful he feels towards the Indians whose money it is that maintains him now on a grand scale. But it does not surprise us at all; for the whole Anglo-Indian community has been singing the same tune. He says that many are the cases in which the Europeans have been assaulted by the Indians, Can there be a worse lie than this? Is it not their arrogance as a nation that makes the Englishmen utter such deliberate falsehoods? However much the Indians may be teased by the British nation, the sufferers are sure to have a way out of it. It cannot be that the Indians are destined to be the slaves of the whites for ever. At present the Englishmen are strong and the ~~Indians~~ Indians being weak have to submit to any suffering at their hands. Will this continue for ever? Can thirty crores of people calmly and perpetually endure all the evils of slavery?

"The Indians cannot be slaves for ever",

59. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 2nd June, says:--During a dinner at New York in which all the colonies were represented, Justice Langili is reported to have said as follows: "I do not think that Canada will ever remain a colony. Every colony will continue subject to its mother country only till she is able to look after her affairs herself, and once she is able to do it, she will like to stand on her own legs. Thus when such a time comes for Canada, she will no longer be dependant upon England her mother country, but will begin to move with her on equal terms." This shows that the colonies can aspire for SWARAJ of any kind. But India alone cannot do it and the Indians must, for ever, continue to be led by others. What sound principles of Government,!

The colonies can, but India cannot, aspire for SWARAJ.

61. The INDIA, of the 30th May, remarks:-Mr.Tilak and some other leaders of the new party have issued the following manifesto to disprove the theory of some that the members of this party had something to do with the bomb outrages: "We regret to note that some youngsters of Bengal, actuated by an overflow of a sense of patriotism, have adopted some horrible means of attaining their object. But is wrong to attribute these horrible deeds to the preachings or writings of some people. These are really the outcome of the measures passed by the Government with a view to curb the aspirations of the people. If the Government will hereafter at least adopt conciliatory methods with a view to allay the present feeling of discontent in the minds of the people, it will prevent the present unrest of discontent in from becoming worse." We have also been echoing the same view in our paper. An unjust Government will have to face many dangers and there is no use of throwing the blame of such events upon the head of this or that man. Our desire is that we should lawfully and openly strive to attain liberty. The Government is preventing us from doing this openly and the

The new party and the bomb outrages.

result is secret societies and their necessary evils. Thus the Government can be free from dangers only if it refrains from blocking our lawful attempts to attain our liberty.

What if India is sold to Russia?

62. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th June, writes:--The MADRAS TIMES, of the foremost of the Anglo-Indian papers which take advantage of every opportunity to villify the Indians, recently published a wonderful lie. It said that the motive of the King-Emperor visiting Russia was to sell away India to the latter. By this it meant that, if such a thing happened, the Indians would have to undergo all the sufferings of the subjects of an autocrat and lose even the small privileges which they have under the British Government. This statement also implied that the Indians were a marketable commodity like cows and lands. But the TIMES has not stated what would be the fate of England if India were sold to Russia. Where, then, will the British who now make so much fuss in India go? These Englishmen, must remember that, if India is to get out of the hands of Britain, it is the latter and not the former that will suffer thereby. Perhaps this paper thought that it can terrify the Indians by publishing such a news. But the Indians need not be afraid of this proposal at all; for Russia being purely an agricultural country like India, the natural sources of the latter's products will not be endangered in any way, and so the products of this country will remain here and the people will have no necessity to fast. Secondly, from what we have heard of the methods of administration in Russia, we need not be afraid of a curtailment of our right of free speech and free writing. Not only this; Babu Ramananda Chatterjea, in an article which he contributed to the MODERN REVIEW under the heading 'If Russia is to rule over India', has clearly proved that the Russian Government will be really better than the British Government.

63. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th June, says:--The MADRAS TIMES echoes the opinion expressed by its namesake in London that the present state of India requires a Cromwell or a Napoleon, to rule over it and not a mild ruler like Lord Minto. We know that the history of these two persons illustrates the way in which an absolute and despotic rulers tries to terrorise his people into subjection. But the TIMES forgets that both these statesmen had to die broken-hearted, because their Government was dashed to pieces in the end. Perhaps this paper wants a similar thing to happen in India. If India is to be ruled on principles of equality with a view to create a feeling of contentment and affection in the minds of the Indians, we want neither a Cromwell nor a Napoleon, but an Emperor like Akbar and a Viceroy like Lord Canning.

"It is a Cromwell or a Napoleon that must now rule overIndia."

64. The DESABHIMANI, of the 13th May, writes in English:-- The PIONEER remarks: "To stem the growing tide of opposition now surging against the Government of India, plain straightforward dealing with all classes appears to be the one method which promises a peaceful success. Every English official should place over his office table the inscription, 'Be stright'. We must be true to our promises to the people of India and to our treaties with its chief. Once let the impression of bad faith on our part achieve wide influence in Indian circles, and nothing can eventually repair the error, except, perhaps, force. We have, therefore, to guard against any actions which may afford the slightest pretext for the charge of bad faith, and we must understand that there are other ways short of breaking solemn promise which lead to this undesirable imputation." What a surprising yet frank recognition of the festering sore of India, its real cause and its proper remedy, even by the premier organ of Anglo-India. And why in the name of prudence, at all events, if not of justice and fair play, our Government have

"Be straight and true to promises and treaties."

failed these two years to profit by this timely note of warning by their trusted organ passes our comprehension. It is yet not too late "to stem the growing tide" by "straightforward dealing with all classes", by "being true to our promises to the people of India," and by guarding against actions giving rise to a "charge of bad faith." What else does the whole of the country clamour for and what else the real cause of the so-called "unrest in India"? Be straight and true to promises and treaties.

65. The INDIA, of the 6th June, says:--However much we may try to improve our condition, all our efforts are bound to prove fruitless unless we acquire political rights. Without political liberty, no reform is possible. The three rights, which a nation must have and without which it cannot live for long, are the right to levy taxes, the right to spend the taxes collected and the right to initiate laws. But we have none of those rights, as our foreign rulers exercise them only with a view to their own benefit. The very object with which the Europeans have come to the east is to enrich themselves from the wealth of India.

Without political liberty there can be no reform.

67. The NADEGANNADI? ~~of the~~ of the 6th June, gives an account of the various prosecutions of the Bengal and Bombay newspapers as well as of the searches and arrests in Calcutta and Midnapur on suspicion of complicity in the manufacture of bombs, etc., and in doing so writes in a tone as if the whole proceeding were high-handed and specially intended to harass the people unnecessarily. It says that every Bengali found walking in the streets at night is challenged by the Police who allege that they have strict orders to do so from their superiors. It also writes in a bantering tone of the panic that is said to have seized the Europeans in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, and says:--"Alas!

Prosecutions of Indians for sedition.

What a contrast between the present European officlas and Wellingtons, Munros and otherx great men who consolidated the Indian Empire! There is no loe lost between the present day Europeans and Indians. Nor is there any cause for the Europeans to be afraid of the Indian people."

Power and wealth are not lasting.

68. The NADEGANNADI, of the 6th June, has an article with this heading in which it says in connection with the subject of Empire Day Celebrations. The various parts of the Empire now pay allegiance to the mother country, because they are not yet in a position to be independet, but it is a question whether they will remain loyal when they become strong enoughx to look after themselves. No human being wishes to be dependent on others. As long as England continues to unselfishly protect the depanden-cies, her authority will be acknowledged, but when she begins to sacrifice their interests to her own they will declare them-selves independent. Of late Englishmen have lost all solicitude for the welfare of the Indians and begun to hate them. The Indians in South Africa are ill-treated, and the British Government does not come to their rescue. The administration of justice has deteriorated and there is one law for European offenders and ano-ther for the Indians. It is said that the English character in England itself has deteriorated. We have not the able states-men of former years. Unless, therefore, the method of adminis-tration in India is thoroughly changed, and that soon, it is impossible to believe that the British Empire will last long in India?

Batch III

For the week ending 20th June 1908.

No. 25 of 1908.

ENGLISSH XPAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

3. The RX INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 13th June, publishes the

Kudiram, the anarchist.

following:--"He is a small boy, this Kudiram Bose, whose name is in the mouth of every one--even the worldwide Reuter. When he stands in the dock and runs his eye round and his eyses fall upon you, you are not at all afraid. They do not look like murderers' eyes at all. On the other hand it has a pleasing, almost pleading look, with a cleam x calmness about them, a serene submission. Every day when he comes and stands in the dock he is heavier and weaker perceptibly, but his countenance has the same alertness and sadness about it--a longing to go out and see--a childishness about those fair eyes which make us pity the murderer. The conversation which he had with the pleaders yesterday has an echo of a sweet, of a touching, of an almost melting nature in it. One would have thought that Kudiram was a girl, so pointing and fair in his words. There is almost a swooning sensation when, standing in the dock, facing the whole court, surrounded by an armed police, he says with almost the tenderness of a child: 'I read up to second class; I gave up study two or three years ago; Since then I began to take an active part in the SWADESHI Movement; since then my brother-in law Ananta Babu has abandoned me'. There is a ring or despair about those last words--my brother-in-law has abandoned me. Poor boy, either perhaps, he was too idle and weak to conquer the dry feelings which invariably attends a regular application to studies; and there was no one to lead him right, none to whisper words of love and encouragement, of hope and ambition to the boy. Being a spirited youth, he could not, though he had left his studies, remain idle and roam in the street. In Bengal there was the SWADESHI movement. He finds several young men taking part; he fears several big men appealing to them to take an active part on the propagation of SWADESHI. He reads

in the papers stirring appeal to die for the mother country, spirited and young, with not enough knowledge to discriminate, with too many temptation to lead him astray, allowing himself to be dragged with the current and blow with the gale, with neither the rudder or reason to battle the storm, nor the support of advice; alone, uncared for, uncaring, foolish and desperate, the boy Kudiram who had but left studies two years ago, had, within that short time gone out of control so that unconsciously he became an anarchist.

"'I have no mother--' says the boy 'and my father died ten or eleven years ago. My stepmother is alive. She resides with her brother Surendranath Banja. I don't know his address or occupation.' He does not know becausse he has no necessity to know it. She does not care for him; and Kudiram has never known what it is to have a mother! He does not know that affection, that solicitude, that tenderness which a mother shows for us and which we learn from her. If he had a mother, would Kudiram have turned an anarchist? Would he have left his studies and roamed as a SWADESHI without an object in life? If he had a father to watch and guide his steps aright, would he have left his studies and roamed an idle SWADESHIST? But Kudiram had neither the love of the mother nor the care of a father, and he turned an anarchist. 'Do you wish to see any one--' asked the pleaders. The answer was that of a child still, not a hardened criminal who had murdered two innocent ladies." 'Yes said the boy. "I wish to see Midnapore for once and my sister and her children.' Now this is not what a hardened anarchist would do. He would have no love for any one. He would rebel against any tender feelings. His heart would have been callour save to crime. But Kudiram is a boy in age and a child in heart, and he went to see his sister and sister's children. 'Do you wish to send any message to your relation'--asked the pleader to Kudiram, 'Or do you like that any one of them should come and help you?' It is then the 'boy' appears in his best colonrs. 'No--I have no wish to communicate to them. If they

like they may come.' Kudiram knows the fall that he has had and he is vsry sorry for it. 'The following conversation is worth reading and thinking over.--

"Do you feel any fear?

"Kudiram smiled and said: Why should I fear?

"Have you read Gita?

"Yes. I have.

"Do you know what (pleaders) have come from Rangpur to defend you but you have already pleaded?

"He answered smilingly, why not?

"The pleader then asked him to think of God.

"Kudiram has no fear, and he could smile one of bhose smiles whibh takes our hearts fromus; sad and with great simplicity he says: 'Why not?' The pleaders must have been struck with the boy, for they asked him to think of God. They would never have asked a murderer to think of God; but the tenderness of the boy, the circumstances that tended to drag him to the place where he was now, his desire, almost fascinating, to see Midnapore and his sister, all must have impressed those around with the impending fate of the boy."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

"The Police unrest."

6. Referring to the acts of the Police and their suspicions about the SWADESHI workers, the KISTNAPATRIKA? of the 14th June, observes:--"The visit of the Inspector-General of Police to our town last month indicates the anxiety of the Police and the subsequent proceedings too confirm the inference. Mr.Morris, the incarnation of patience, has been transferred to Anantapur and Mr.Scott is posted in his stead. Mr.Hasted, it seems, will act as Superintendent of Police. It appears that a reserve force of three hundred police is required. As a crowning act, some of the patriotic servants of the country, it is rumoured,

will be prosecuted for sedition. There is nothing surprising in this. Servants of the country have to go to jail one day or other. If the Government think they can root out the SWADESHI movement by merely imprisoning its promoters, they labour under a delusion. This movement does not rest on either SWADESHI preachers or newspapers. This more It is a established in the heart of every man which it is impossible to extirpate or penetrate. The Government, unable to understand its nature and strength, and acting against all human experience, devise various kinds of punishments and repressive measures, to suppress the desire for freedom instead of respecting it, but they all prove useless. In every country, these repressive measures and horrors of imprisonment serve to make the servants of the country all the more courageous, enthusiastic, and vigilat and make the power of people purer, more brilliant and stronger than ever before."

X. X (b) Courts.

The case against Mr.Chidambaram Pillai.

7. With reference to the conduct of the case of sedition brought against Mr.Chidambaram Pillai, the JANANUKULAN, of the 13th May, remarks:--From the very beginning, the authorities are not conducting this case according to rules. For example, the very Magistrate who launched the security cases against him prosecuted him for sedition. Next, the District Magistrate f drew out information from every one who visited him and so began the prosecution with a prejudiced mind. No charge sheet was read out in court and no police enquiry was made into any offence. Though it was the European merchants who took the inia-tive in launching this case, none came forward as complainants. Not only this, the same man acted the parts of a detective, complainant and Magistrate. Then again every case should be tried in a place which will be convenient to both the parties and the witnessesx; but one of the Tuticorin cases was heard at Tinnevelly Bridge while the other was heard at Tuticorin

itself. Though an application was made under section 526, no adjournment was granted. During the conduct of the case, every provision of law was flouted with impunity. The accused were illegally remanded to custody and the High Court had to ~~a~~ be moved to correct this error of law. Meanwhile the Govennment had been approached to sanction the prosecution of the man for sedition, so that the moment he was released under the orders of the High Court, he was remanded again on the new charge of sedition. While in prison, the accused was not allowed to see either his vakils or his friends and his treatment in jail needs no comment.

(k) General.

The screen between the rulers and the ruled in India.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th June, writes:--When the Press Bill was passed into law, Lord Minto appears to have remarked that the ignorance of the Englishmen about the customs and manners of the Indians was, as it were, a screen placed between the rulers and the ruled in India, preventing the former from understanding the latter aright. Though we are glad that our Viceroy realises the existence of such a screen, it is regrettable that he admits his inability to find means to remove it. But we can understand from history how such a blind between the rulers and the ruled has been removed in the past. Even in countries in which the rulers belong to the same race as the ruled, power, position and riches must create a blind between them and much more therefore must it be so in a country like India where the rulers belong to a different race from the ruled. So, what has helped to remove this blind in other countries in the past must also be useful in India now; for human nature is the same throughout the world. Thus, after trying various devices in vain, England was able to remove this screen only by the establishment of representative Government, while such a screen still exists in countries like Russia owing to their not having introduced such a form of Government. So, the only means by

which this screen can be removed is making the Government a representative one and granting the people corresponding political privileges. Such being the case, how can Lord Minto expect to remove the existing screen by means of a Press Act? Instead of removing it, we are afraid it will ~~xx~~ only tend to block even the small holes there may be in it, through which one on this side of it may hope to have at least a faint idea of one on the other side. Though every statesman has been repeating this statement of Lord Minto from the time the British Government was established in India, and though the Indians are now in a position, both by reason of their education and experience, to share the responsibility of Government with the British, it is strange to see that the English officials are now feeling zealous of the Indians and try to keep them as far as possible from the doors of Government. It is surprising that even Lord Minto has not yet realised that allowing the people to ~~xx~~ share in the Government is the only means of removing the existing screen between the rulers and the ruled, even though it is now nearly three years since he has been our Viceroy.

Viscount Morley has not lost his qualities completely.

11. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th June, writes:--There has been room enough for us to think that Viscount Morley had kept by all his Liberal principles the moment he became the Secretary of State for India. But his recent speech at the Indian Civil Service dinner makes us believe that his noble qualities have not left him completely. In this speech he said:"The Indians are now striving to attain only what we have taught them to aspire for, and so we must not only restore peace in India but also help them to attain their object. If this is not done, the fault will lie with us and not with them and our failure to do it will be the ~~fault of~~ first sign of the breakdown of the policy of the British Government. None among the British believes that the Indians can be held down by a despotic rule. No doubt dark and heavy clouds are gathering on the hitherto bright sky of India

and the Government can ward them off only by blowing a hard wind; but it must, at the same time, take care to blow it in the proper direction and also within prescribed limits." These words of his clearly prove that, for himself he has an open mind with regard to the Indians. But then the question arises as to why the official acts in India are not in consonance with the views expressed by him. The answer is that the Government of India represents mattersix in whi such a way as to make the Secretary of State fbelieve that everything would be lost if immediate steps are not taken on the lines suggested by it. Even Mr.Morley admits that on emergent occasions, the Government of India acts in anticipation of his sanctions. But we hope he will, hereafterx at least, notx allow himself tobe hurried into sanctioning repressive measures in India and thus belie his life principles.

Sir Bamfyde Fuller on the present unrest in India.

12. The DRAVIDA DEEPAM, of the 15th June, remarks:--Among so many Anglo-Indians who have expressed their opinion with regard to the present unrest in India, Sir Bamfyde Fuller is one, and he has said in effect that the only way to allay the existing unrest is to grind down the Indians as far aspossible without granting them any sort of rights whatever. Perhaps these have not realised how far the repressive acts of Government have been effective in restoring peace in the country! Why should they still cry out for the a suppression of the Indians?

"One's evil devices injure oneself"

13. The VIVEKACHINTAMONY, of the June 1908, writes:--The attempt of the Government to ride rough-shod over the feelings of the people and suppress their freedom of thought and speech has brought into existence some anarchists who are prepared to risk their very lives in the accomplishment of their object. There is no reasonto think that the Bengal Police have succeeded in

hunting down all the persons connected with the bomb conspiracy. Even now bombs are being placed every day in crowded localities or thoroughfares and the Police to locate the crime on some individual or other, take advantage of the present situation to connect their private enemies with one or other of these incidents All this has created such a terror in the minds of the people that they are now afraid of the very sight of the Police.

It is regrettable that, at this juncture, we do not see any able statesman who can understand the present sufferings of the people and remedy the existing evils. On the other hand, the tendency of the officials, who are actually in chargeof our country, is to go in the wrong direction! The PIONEER says that the Indians, from the Members of the Viceroy's Council downward to the anarchists, are bent upon subverting the British Government. If this is true, does not the question arise as to why the Government should be hated by the whole mass of the people. It is because the Secretary of State for India, bereft of his own sense, acts upon the ill advice of newspapers like the PIONEER that all these horrible incidents have occurred. Perhaps he could not help it; for fate would not leave any one. But by continuing to commit misdeeds, one would only be increasing the burden of his fate, and this should be borne in mind by both the enemies of Government and its officials, If the greatness of this sanctified land be reduced, woe unto all; for the accumulation of evil will eventually swell into a deluge and root out everything. This is truth; Beware! A cry for help to mother BHARATA is ringing forth from the eight corners of the country and the fools who are responsible for this are seeking their own ruin by not understanding the truth. But "One's evil devices injure oneself" is an adage which has never proved false and doubtless the evil deeds of these people will redound upon themselves.

14. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th June, says:--It was the bad rule of the East India Company that made our late lamented Queen Victoria take up the Government of India on her own shoulders in 1858, and her Proclamation of that year made the people of India hope for a better government at the hands of the British. But still, as has been admitted even by Lord Curzon, the Government has been carried on to this day on purely selfish principles. Perhaps this is no wonder; for, as Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said, a good Government is not always a worthy substitute for self-government It is a law of human nature that a man can never feel as happy while he is under the protection of another as he does when he manages his affairs himself, and much more therefore must it be so when a nation as a whole becomes subject to another nation. Especially, in the case of the British, they do not like the idea of parting with the power or gain which they enjoy by reason of their possession of India, and so they have always been trying to keep down the Indians as far as possible.

The Government is carried on with a purely selfish motive.

15. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th June, writes:--Sir Charles Elliot, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, says:--"The Indians should not longer be regarded as the same meek and submissive people that they were till now. They have now learnt the horrible ways of the West, and so they must be ruled accordingly." The LONDON TIMES remarks:--"If, in days gone by, the editor of an Indian newspaper were punished for sedition, all these papers would be afraid of this and remain quiet for one or two years to come; but now the larger of editors punished for sedition, the greater becomes the number of those who commit the offence." From this we clearly see that the Englishmen expected the Indians to be ever submissive to them, suffering every sort of hardship at their hands. Perhaps they thought the Indians were mere beasts!

"The gulf between the rulers and the ruled must be bridged by sympathy,"

They have been moving with the Indians for the last so many years and still they have not understood their nature. Does not this show the weakness of the foreign Government? Whether the Englishmen like it or not, it is a fact that a change is coming over India now. Can they impede this? Surely they would have done this if they could. So the TIMES advises the Government to rule new India with the ~~the~~ same iron hand with which it ruled old India, and even goes to the extent of saying that the Government, being strong in its army, should not scruple to maintain the prestige of the British by means of it, if necessary. No doubt, the Indians ~~are~~ have been disarmed and are not in a position to meet an army on the field. But this will not make them tolerate their sufferings for ever and so they will try to remove the cause of the same by some other way. Moreover it has now been proved that India is capable of a change and also that the Indians are able to learn the tricks of the West. So they will naturally be trying their best to better their position, as long as there is a feeling of discontent and ~~Englishmen which hated~~ hatred in their minds. ~~Which is~~ It is strange that this natural truth has not struck the Englishmen! Which is the better policy--to enable the discontent and disaffection in the country to grow by more repressive measures, or to root out such sentiments from the minds of the people and replace them by a feeling of contentment and affection towards the Government? If the present gulf between the rulers and the ruled be not bridged by a sympathetic rule of the country, England will have to lose more than gain from her sovereignty over India.

The Executive and Judicial officers.

17. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th June, says:--The Judicial officers have been appointed with a view to mete out justice, not only between man and man, but also between the Government and the people, while the Executive officers are bound to assist the

Government in enforcing the obedience of the people to the laws of the country. These Executive officers have always to uphold the authority and prestige of the Government and there is nothing to restrict them to do impartial justice. So the Government will always side these officials and confide in them. But the people will always look with awe and distrust on them.
In Western countries, the Judicial officers are not appointed by theGovernment but by the Judicial department, for fear that, otherwise, they will be loss to the Government. But in our country Judicial officers like theDistrict Judge and Sub-Judge are appointed by the Government, so that even these officers, on many occasions, side the Government and flout justice. But still there are many advantages in the case being tried by a Judicial officer, e.g., the publicity of the proceedings, the conduct of the trial being subject to certain hard-and-fast rules and the opportunity given to pleaders to explain the legal points bearing on the case. So the people have naturally better confidence in the Judicial officers while the Government, for this very reason desire its cases to be tried by the Executive officials who are its creatures. Thus it has made the Revenue officials take cognisance of all Revenue cases instead of sending them to the Judicial officers for decision. Again, if a dispute arises with regard to the Settlement operations of Government, it is not Civil Courts, but the Settlement officers themselves, that settle it, and if the decisions of these officers is not liked by parties, they can appeal to the Board of Revenue and thence to the Government. But both these Appellate authorities and the Settlement officers are only intent on increasing the income of the Government and so naturally they will not impeach the original settlement. But the judicial officers do not care whether the income to the Government increases or not, and so they can be expected to mete out impartial justice to the people. It is on this very ground that all Revenue disputes have been made cognisable only by the Revenue officials, and this is the case

even under the new Irrigation Bill. Therefore the powers given to the Executive officials, the greater the curtailment ofthe rights of the people. So the view of the present British Government seems to be that the people should be the slaves of the Police and the Magistracy.

"The weapon of passive resistance. No strong army can withstand it. Despotic Government cannot face it.

18. Referring to the relations between the rulers and the ruled Mr.V.Suryanarayana Rao B.L. L.T., writes to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 14th June, thus:--"It is improper to forcibly prevent the Government from enforcing a law whether it be good or bad. But if that law is passively disobeyed but not forcibly resisted, and though it is not possible to escape punishment for such passive resistance, there will still be an opportunity for bringing its evils home to the people. Even in England where there is a complete power in the hands of the people, certain regulations were recently passed after careful consideration by the Parliament, regarding education and vaccination, and some respectable persons received punishments for disobeying them on account of scruples of conscience under the belief that they were harmful. This just weapon--passive resistance--has been often used by the subjects in one form or another, against their despotic Governments. If it is to prove ~~prove~~ to be of invaluable use, there must be union among the subjects. No army, however, strong, can withstand it. No despotic Government can face it. As Bengal was partitioned in spite of the united protestations of the people in the Congress held at Calcutta in the year 1906, the Extremists and the Moderates unanimously resolved that it was but just to make use of the weapon of boycott against the Government, and that if a similar calamity, should overtake any other province, it might be employed there also. The boycott of offices under the English Government is included in this resolution besides the boycott of English-made goods. Lord Minto himself admitted that since the people of East Bengal pursued this plan, the Government

of Sir B. Fuller could not proceed an inch and that he sent him home. Since we cannot make use of 'the four-fold policy--conciliation, subsidy, sowing differences and punishment'-- in bringing about political reforms, the only weapon left to us is boycott. It must be used when it is of invaluable help. This is a strange weapon. The more profitably we employ it, the nearer we come to our ideal, SWARAJ."

"Vernacular newspapers"

20. The SASILEKHA, of the 19th June, observes:--"The Government hold the mad theory that those who know vernacular languages only are dull people, and that they get spoiled by reading vernacular newspapers. They also say that as the English-knowing persons only have the power of discriminating right from wrong and as those who are ignorant of English do not possess such power, the vernacular newspapers should not write so boldly as the English papers. It is not quite true to say that people get spoiled by what the editors of newspapers write. Nobody regards what is written in the newspapers as gospel truth. The authorities must bestow much attention on the vernacular newspapers. The editors of these papers suffer indescribable difficulties in trying to educate such people as cannot read English newspapers. It is not proper to subject those who are thus engaged in doing good to the country to various difficulties. As there are incapable and wicked persons among the editors of Vernacular newspapers, just as there are among the editors of English newspapers, there must be one law for all the editors that commit the offence of sedition whether they happen to be black men or white men. It is not just to have one law for the blacks and another for the whites."

21. The NAVAYUGA, of the 18th June, observes:- "During the

"How did they govern before? How are they governing now?

21. The NAVAYUGA, of the 18th June, observes:--"During the early days of the British rulex in India, the Liberals used to find fault with the Tories for not attending to the welfare of India whereas now, both parties agree in doing injustice to India. The Government of India are nbt at all afraid of the Parliament, now. Moreover, in those early days, the Government had regadd for them Indians. Now, as the people have been disarmed, aad as many unfavourable causes have been at work, the Indians are treated very meanly as though they were serpents with their fangs removed. Hitherto if a riot took place anywhere, the Magistrate and the Police would take great pains to investigate the samep and administer justice by arresting the real culprits. Now every suspected personx is arrested and punitive police imposed at once. The rioters probably belong to the cooly class, wher as all the gentlemen of the place are made to bear the cost of the punitive police. It is our humble opinion that the Government by trying to strengthen themselves with more power and more laws become irresponsible, while their real strangth degenerates gradually.

III. LEGISLATION.

The new Press Act.

23. With reference to the Press Act recently passed by the Imperial Legislature, the INDIA, of the 13th June, remarks:--Our rulers say that this Act has been passed to suppress blood-thirsty papers like the YUGANTAR,.xx But the Magistrates who have been given the sole discretion to use this Act in suppressing a paper will begin to enforce it eeven in connection with papers whose only theme is the attainment of libetty. This will only increase the popular discontent against the Government and endanger its position, but will in no way permanently impede our efforts for the acquisition of freedom.

"Another kind of sedition".

24. Adverting to the new Press Act, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 17th June, observes:--

"If sedition does not at first emanate from the officials of the Government, it can never exist at all among the subjects. Sedition will entirely disappear if the officials perform their appointed duties without exceeding the limits of their authority and if they are impartial, kind and affectionate. If the responsible high officials of the Government are not blinded by their whims and fancies and by their partiality, but look at things in their true light, it will be clear to them that the Indian newspapers and the preachers of their contents are but mere propagators of sedition, and not the originators of it, the very first authors of the very sedition being the officials and their assistants. But they never confessed that they are the chief cause of the origin of sedition. The Government in India are all-powerful because there is none to question or check their authority. They wait for an opportunity, and restrain by means of laws the newspapers and preachers that are merely propagators of sedition, but not at all the originators of it. Rats are destroyed being suspected of spreading plague. No doubt the destruction of rats has prevented the spreading of plague; but has it destroyed the germs of that disease? No. As long as the disease is not rooted out by finding out the real origin of the disease and means for its extirpation, it will break out again and again and carry on its mischievous work. Similarly by gagging the propagators of sedition, one of the causes of the spread of sedition has been removed, but sedition is not completely rooted out. If sedition is to be rooted out completely, its originators must be punished."

The Explosives Act and the Newspaper Offences act.

25. Commenting on the new Explosives Act, the NADEGANNADI of the 13th June, observes that whereas hitherto the law presumed every man to be innocent until his guilt was conclusively proved,

the present enactment directs that persons may be punished on mere suspicion and the burden of proving his innocence lies on the accused. It is possible that whenever there is a little panic in the minds of the European authorities, innocent persons will be hauled up and punished under the new enactment. Such an enactment must be ~~hauled-up-and-punished-under-the-new~~ as dangerous to the State as it is oppressive to the people. It now remains to be seen in what spirit the new Act will be enforced.

Commenting on the Newspaper Offences Act and the provision relating to the confiscation of property in connection with press prosecutions, the paper observes that the Act of acquiring by force property belonging to others cannot be justifiable under any circumstances whatsoever. It is very much to be regretted that under the present administration, property is liable to be confiscated on mere suspicion. Such repression did not exist even during the anarchical periods in the days of Moguls.
contented that real criminals should go unpunished, but it is never right to
399. X It is never punish people before their guilt is proved in a Court of law. The present enactment, therefore, which allows persons to be punished on mere suspicion, cannot be regarded as the work of a civilized Government. Besides, out of several thousands of vernacular newspapers published in India, it is only one or two Bengali papers that might have been guilty a rabid and objectionable tone; but the new Act tends to thwart the liberty of the whole press. It is widely believed that the present-day authorities out of mere distrust in the people punish them heavily even for trivial offences. It would ordinarily be impossible to conduct newspapers in the future. This will assuredly result in increasing the estrangement that already exists between the rulers and the ruled.

Commenting on these two Acts, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 16th June, observes that it would not be just to take exception to the Explosives Act, for it is right that such dangerous persons as bomb-throwers or bomb-manufacturers should be treated with due severity by law. But a deep and thorough investigation will have to be made in each case before the Local

Government issues its sanction for prosecution, and the utmost care will have to be taken to make out the INTENTION of the accused, for the materials used in the manufacture of bombs might have been meant for a different purpose altogether.

Referring to the Newspaper Offences Act, the paper observes that it was stated in the Council that the Act was to be passed with a view to prevent incitement to such dangerous acts as the manufacture or use of bombs. The Act would have been welcome with great joy by the public if it had been clearly limited in its application to such heinous crimes. Again, in all these cases, the Local Government will be guided by information received from the Police or the Executive, and the District Magistrate will proceed at the instance of the Local Government. As the District Magistrate is himself the head of the Executive in the District, the Act puts enormous powers into the hands of the Executive. Besides, the time allowed for an appeal to the High Court is only 15 days. The District Magistrate may also, if he thinks fit, cause the attachment of all the press property and after enormous loss has been caused to the owners owing to the suspension of the newspaper till the completion of the trial, the accused may, after all, be found innocent. But the most objectionable provision in the Act is that it makes "any act of violence" liable to punishment under the Act. Who is to determine whether an act is "an act of violence"? The expression has not been defined in the Act. It is left to the good sense of the Magistrate to decide it and it is this fact that causes considerable anxiety to the press. As the Hon'ble Nawab Saiyid Mahomed observed, new and unforeseen difficulties may have to be faced by Government in their anxiety to remove the existing one! His Excellency Lord Minto observed that the Purdah of the East could not be lifted. It would benefit the Government as well as the people, if at this juncture His Excellency were to show some consideration to the newspapers whose chief aim is only to lift that same Purdah. His Excellency also observed that further legislation might be necessary to con-

trol the Press; but, in that case, it is believed that care will be taken that public opinion is not driven altogether behind the Purdah.

The Newspaper offences Act

26. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 13th June, commenting on the NEWSPAPER OFFENCES ACT, says that while there can be nothing wrong in ordering the confiscation of press property where there is real incitement to offences by newspapers, the almost unrestrained authority given to the Magistrates under the new Act is altogether in contravention of the British traditions of law and justice. The new Act will assuredly be a subject of severe criticism in the Houses of Parliament bringing its authors into disgrace. It will, perhaps, be possible to realise the object of the new Act, namely, to check the objectionable tone of certain newspapers; but the resentment that might be caused among the public will possibly do more harm than the incitement to offences that is sought to be prevented would itself have done. It is highly regrettable that His Excellency the Viceroy with all his thoughtfulness and political foresight should have consented to such legislation. With this new power in his hands, one single Magistrate of the type of Sir B.Fuller is sufficient to crush all feelings of loyalty in His Majesty's subjects. Even some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers are of opinion that the Government will not be able to realise its end by the passing of the new Act. The Supreme Legislative Council brought disgrace on itself by thus overriding the traditions of British justice. If at least great discrimination be exercised in the enforcement of the Act, the disasters resulting therefrom might, to a large extent, be averted.

In another article headed "the methods of administration" the same paper remarks that it is very surprising that even such eminent statesmen as Lord Minto and Lord Morley, both ripe with age and wisdom, consented to such stringent legislation. Even Russia could not have been so severe. To keep India in subjec-

tion, it is perhaps necessary to control the liberty of the Press by means of such legislation. But will it be possible by this means to prevent those who abuse the liberty of the Press from speaking and thinking unrestrainedly? It is only those who can win the confidence and loyalty of the subjects in word, deed and thought that deserve the name of administrators.

Fear or Justice?

27. The VEERAKESARI, of the 15th June, has an article with the heading "Fear or Justice" in which the editor writes ironically concerning the recent Acts passed by the Government of India ridiculing the fears of the Government which have exaggerated the state of things and made the authorities suspect bombs and YUGANTARS everywhere, and representing them as just able to breath freely with some returning sense of safety only after the Acts were passed. After giving the main outlines of the two Acts, the article proceeds: "No other civilised Government could have devised such mild laws. Sir Harvey Adamson insisted (as a priest) upon the performance of the sacrifice. Lord Minto begged the audience (members of the Legislative Council), and the subjects at large most earnestly to assist at the sacrifice. It is to be regretted that it did not occur to them that the Press Act especially will have the effect of making the cowards still more cowardly, the thoughtless still more thoughtless, and the desperate still more desperate. What was the use of the opposition of the Hon'bles Nawab Saiyid Mahomed, Tikka Saheb and Munshi Madho Lal?

On the recent legislations at Simla.

28. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 13th June, referring to the recent legislations at Simla on Explosives and the Press, says that the former Act will be approved by all without a dissentient voice, while the latter, though not actually intended to curtail the legitimate freedom of the Press,

is liable to be inteppreted and used by certain District Magistrates to harass the papers, as there is much vagueness of detail in the Act. It is true that there are two or three papers of the stamp of the YUGANTAR which ought to be suppressed, but to class in the same category all papers which honestly criticise the acts of Government is unjust. The speech of the Viceroy in relation to these Acts threatens further legislation on newspapers generally. It is however, a matter for rejoicing that the Viceroy has stated in his speech that certain contemplated reforms will not in any way be deferred on account of the recent anarchical disclosures. Considering the course of current events in Bengal, Government is not to be found the fault with for the haste with which the Act has been passed. But it would have been better if the Act had been passed after due consideration. These Acts might prove handy to kill papers like the YUGANTAR, but it will not in any way help to foster love and respect towards Government, to secure which Government should show greater sympathy towards the people and Europeans should not treat the natives with hatred. It would be still better if the Anglo-Indian papers could be made to stop their revilings.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The immediate causes that led to the Trivandrum riots

29. Referring to the recent violent rioting at Trivandrum, a paragraph in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 13th June, says that the SWADESHI lectures that are being delivered of late at various parts of the town are exciting the public mind inordinately. But the immediate causes that led to the new rioting were the overbearing conduct, the unjust attitude and the bribe-taking proclivities of the Sirkar officials. These evils are most rampant in the Police department of the State.

V. PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Indian famine.

30. A correspondent of the SURYODAYAM, of the 26th April, writes:--Since the Whites immigrated into India, famine has visited this country nearly forty times, causing the death of nearly one and a half crores of people on ~~excellency men~~ the whole, that is, we have lost one and a half crores of excellent men among our brethren on account of a forein nation of a Western country. The chief cause of this is the fact of our country being drained of its wealth by England and other foreign countries. These take away all the products of our land and send us merely useless things like porcelain and glass. When we compare the relative value of the exports from India and the imports into it by England, we see that while articles worth nearly one hundred and fifty-two crores and eighty lakhs of rupees are going out of India every year, we are getting in only articles worth about eighty-four crores and twenty lakhs of rupees in return. Thus, every year, sixty-eight crores and sixty lakhs of rupees of our Indian money is being wasted. The annual income of the Government of India, on all heads, is abotut one hundred and twenty-seven crores of rupees, while the annual expenditure comes to only one hundred and twenty crores. Thus the Government has a surplus of seven crores of rupees every year, and this is quietly laid by, while the public debt is allowed to swell year by year! Now, taking the items of expenditure individually, we see that nearly sixty-three crores of rupees are wasted in useless expenditure. Though nearly thirty-crores of rupees are spent on railways, our brethren, while travelling, cannot even find accommodation in a carriage and are huddled into the compartments like tamarind bags, and yet the profit that the railways have made for the last thirty years is four hundred and fifty crores of rupees! Then, again, even in countries like Germany, France, America and England, which have large armies, only one twenty-second part of the income is spent on them. But in India, out of every twenty-two rupees, nearly five and quarter rupees are lavished on the

military. Besides, our army is not intended to guard the country and protect the people, but to kill the Indians and ruin the progress of our country, and for this it eats away thirty crores of rupees!

The same correspondent continues the above subject as follows in the SURYODAYAM, of the 3rd May,:--Coming to the subject of education, for a population of thirty crores, only one crore of rupees is spent on this head! Comparing the the proportion between the literate and the illiterate among the people of the other countries with that in India, ~~we see that a among the people of the other countries with that in India~~, we see that India stands last, only five out of every ninety-five persons being literate. O, Indians! Pitiable indeed is your condition! Leaving all this aside, let us see what is the fate of the Indians who are in service. While the aggregate salary paid to the Whites in Government service is twenty-one crores, that paid to the Hindus is only five and a half crores, and the average annual income of each Indian in service is only Rs. 540, while that of the white is Rs.9005! On the whole, about two hundred and ninety-five crores of rupees are going to foreign countries every year from India by means of trade and revenue from taxes, etc. What wonder then that famine is a frequent occurrence here? Our hard working brethren, who are born and bred up in this country, are leading a mean life, getting, as it were, the dole of only one rupee, and this after enough of beating and thrashing, while the Whites live on a grand scale, earning Rs.25 a day for doing no other work than signing their names! O, poor brethren! Are you still sleeping? Wake up! The time has come for us to quarrel and divide and enjoy with the Whites the riches of our own mother. Rise! Do not sleep!

A correspondent of the INDIA, of the 13th June, reproduces the substance of the above article.

Famines and their causes

31. The MYSORE STAR, of the 15th June, in a leading article, observes that during the past several years, famines have been occurring in India almost annually, and that during the past 10 years nearly 30 millions of deaths were due to them, and that considering the enormous increase in the prices of foodstuffs, famine may be said to exist in the country all the twelve months of the year. This cannot be ascribed to the failure of monsoons alone, for there has been good rain in Mysore during the past two or three years, yet, there has been no decrease in the ~~xp~~ prices. Though the area under cultivation has increased year by year and new irrigation works have been constructed, the majority of the people can only make a hand-to-mouth living. The contention of the Government that poverty among the Indians is due to their extravagance cannot for a moment be upheld, for it is obviously impossible to find extravagance when even the bare necessaries of life are lacking. The peasantry is chiefly ground down by the periodical increase of assessment, the ruthless manner of exacting taxes even in times of ~~£~~ extreme distress and the increase in the prices of foodstuffs; but it is held by some that this last is a condition ~~in the prices of~~ favourable to the ryots. Far from it. Because the ryots are perpetually in a state of indebtedness, altogether at the mercy of the usurers, and the dearth may benefit only one or two large landholders in the village. Again, the ~~x~~ increased facilities for the conveyance and export of foodstuffs tend to keep up the prices. Furthermore, by a clever system of coinage and currency the Government obtains an enormous income in an unobtrusive manner; as for example, the rupee coin has only 10 annas worth of silver in it. The average annual income of an Indian can bear no comparison with that of any Westerner. The average income of an Englishman is Rs.665 a year, while that of an Indian is Rs.20, which is not even a third part of what European commonly spends on liquor alone. Such abject poverty is mainly due to the want of industrial development in the country.

In spite of these painful conditions, nearly 50 crores of rupees are annually carried away to England. There being no money in the country, the foddstuffs go to foreign countries and the people here become an easy prey to famines. Mere palliatives to allay the suffering do not show any real love towards the subjects. The civilization that we have received from England is like gilded ornaments, beautiful and glittering to all external appearance, but without any intrinsic value whatever. If immigration of Asiatics can be prohibited in South Africa, why should not Englishmen be forbdden to work mines, and conduct the railways and trade in this country? Then only will it be possible to protect the wealth of the ~~useless to expect~~ that mere temporary relief measures will ward off the ever-recurring famines. More substantial aid should be rendered, namely, the burden of taxation should be lightened; some extravagances in the administration should be put a stop to; the military expenditure should be curtailed; the system of coinage and currency should be improved; the flood of foreign articles into the Indian market should be prevented by means of protective duties; indigenous industries should be more largely encouraged. In these and these alone consists the proper remedy for famines.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"A reflex picture"

34. The DESHABHIMANI, of the 10th June, writes in English:--"Suppose that in England foreigners were ruling--say, the Japanese--who committed the province to one of their statesmen who had never been to Europe before, and surrounded him with a group of men of his own race who got their knowledge of the country chiefly from books and papers from Whitehall, who for the most part could not speak the English language, whose unreserved intercourse with Englishmen was limited to a few Japanese-speaking callers in London, and who, when not in London, divided their time between the Scottish Highlands and the Riviera. What sort of Government

country; but it is useless to expect this from govt. It is also useless to expect that

would it be? It might seem admirabke to the people in Tokio, but would it be to the men of Yorkshire and Cornwall? How long would it last?" So says Sir Frederick Lely in page 39 of his work "Suggestions for the better Government of India. This reflex picture presented by Sir Frederick Lely for the edification of his countrymen is a vigorous home-thrust directed sharply against the pet arguments and unbridled dogmatism of the self-assuming Anglo-Indian. But is it in human nature to view things by a comparison to an introspective picture? If so, by how much would not the world be less for wickedness, and the better for this virtue? But if people cannot see for themselves by a comparative picture, there are yet many of them who receive it with fairness when such is presented to them, and Sir Frederick Lely may therefore be considered to have done a real service to India by appealing to the Englishmen by a soft and emotional argument. And when the Britisher, who, we always believed, is one of reason and fair-mindedness, happens to read these lines, we are sure his sympathy will be most powerfully appealed to. We do not quarrel with the Government; we do not quarrel with the British peopèe. We quite realise the reasonableness of the Britisher's boast when he compares his administration of India to the administration of the Philippines. But we regret very much his want of sympathy with the people and his general aloofness from them which stands in the way of his understanding correctly the needs and circumstances of the people. We are sure that, when, instead of his information being founded upon the opinion of a few official "callers-on" as at present, a more intimate contact is established between him and the people, must of the mistrust and antipathy that have of late developed between the two classes, will have dissolved. We hope for this happy consummation.

35. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th June, observes:--Some days back the Police prohibited the SWADESHI preaching in the vicinity of the Moore Market on the authority of a notice from the Municipal President. Again the day before yesterday the Police Commissioner put up an order that no SWADESHI preaching should take place in the beach. No doubt the officials are given certain powers and they are justified in exercising them; but we do not agree with them in thinking that they should do it blindly. SWADESHI preaching was going on in both the above places for some time past, and what disturbances took place there as a result of it? How was the public peace disturbed thereby? Apart from this, what right has the Municipal President to prohibit meetings near the Moore Market or the People's Park? We hope the popular representatives on the Corporation will take up this subject for discussion, Then again, the Police Commissioner says in his order that, as these preachings tended to a breach of the peace, he prohibits them. Does not the very fact that the people, who assembled at the beach the day before yesterday to hear the SWADESHI preachers, quietly dispersed when they were told that the meeting was prohibited by the Police. belie the view of the Commissioner that the preachings tended to a breach of the public peace?

Prohibition of SWADESHI preachings in Madras.

36. A correspondent to the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th June, reports Mr.G.Subramania Aiyar to have spoken as follows in a speech delivered at Kuttalam:--In the British Government, the whole amount of the taxes collected from us is not spent for our benefit. All the higher posts under the Government are given to the Europeans and they live happily upon our money even after retiring from service here. But under the Muhammadan rule, all the appointments were held by the Indians. Then again the Europeans make an enormous profit from their trade with this

"Our past and present"

country while our countrymen are paid only daily wages. Our patriot, Mr.Dadabhai Nowroji, has calculated that by means of trade alone forty-five crores of our money are taken away to a foreign country. Moreover they have robbed us of our trade and of all our industries, so much so that we have now to depend for both food and clothing upon a foreign nation. Why not we revive our industries? Why should we ever hang upon a foreigner for support? Have not wonderful works been carried out by our ancients in the past and can we not do the same thing again and revive the poverty of our countrymen? Our country is not a barren island surrounded by ice or sand as England . Even in population it is far above England and yet why is India poorer than England? It is because of the union, perseverance and patriotism of the Englishmen. Look at them and learn these qualities. Every country has come up in the world only by union. So wake up, unite and work for the improvement of your country.

We should not be afraid of the anger of our rulers.

37. The INDIA, of the 13th June, writes:--We have high ideals before us and our object is to attain SWARAJ by peaceful and harmless means. But still the accomplishment of our object will surely curtail certain advantages which the foreign authorities are now unjustly enjoying and put an end to their illegally robbing us of our money. It will also prevent their exercising their authority most aribitrarily, even though they do not know anything of this land of BHARATA. So our attempts at the acquisition of SWARAJ naturally provoke them, and, as at prsent, they have both the authority and strength to exercise it, their anger means positive troubles to us. But it will be meanness on our part to be afraid of their anger and refrain from our lawful attempts. In Bombay, the editor of the VIHAN has been charged with sedition. He belongs to the new party and has all along been upholding its principles. But still in his statement before the Magistrate he has said that the object of his paper

is that his countrymen should gradually acquire SWARAJ as obtains in the Colonies. What is the reason of this gentleman, who could not even have dreamt of the qualification "As obtains in the Colonies' till now, inserting it now in his statement? It is nothing but most meanly fear, and this we must avoid. Whatever may be the form of SWARAJ we strive to attain, we want liberty. But we firmly believe that the British will never grant us SWARAJ on the colonial lines, and we have proved this to the satisfaction of our readers on many an occasion.

The Government and SWADESHI

38. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th June, observes:--While in every other country special efforts are taken to inculcate a sense of patriotism to the people, why should there be suspicion and hatred towards SWADESHI in India alone? Our readers may
403 remember the words of Lord Morley that he fully sympathises with honest Swadeshi, and those of Sir Arthur Lawley that he should be sorry if there was an impression in the public mind that the Government was against lawful attempts made to be SWADESHI. Now, who is to decide whether, in any particular case, a SWADESHI attempt is honest or lawful? Perhaps, it is the ruling race. If that is so, we should be leaving the decision in the hands of the very people who will be affected adversely by the growth and influence of the SWADESHI feeling! That these cannot be impartial judges in the matter has been clearly proved by recent events in India. Our rulers are now bringing in new laws to enable them to suppress more effectively public meetings and such conduct of the people as may tend to disturb the public have out-done the Viceroy in blindly enforcing the existing law itself to the letter. But our sincere opinion is that by suppressing SWADESHI like this, the popular discontent will only increase. The more a feeling is spread among the people that the Government is against SWADESHI the wider will become the gulf between the rulers and the Indians. The only remedy for the existing evil is for the rulers to allow the ruled also to share with them the responsibility of Government. Will our rulers do so hereafter at least?

39. The NAVAYUGA, of the 18th June, writes as follows:--

"New Acts". (Under the heading of "Vigneswara" some imaginary conversation is published periodically).

(Enter the editor of Yugantar)

YUGANTAR.--O, Vigneswara! Have you noted my power and capability? Unable, indeed, to bear the troubles I put them to, the Feringhee framers of laws assembled at Simla, enacted the Explosives and the Gagging of the Press Acts, without letting the world know anything about the same. Perhaps, they were not able to understand that these laws could not affect me. Were there not already in existence laws to prohibit the manufacture of and use of bombs? It is because the people violated these laws that this great calamity befell the Government. The rulers must win the love of the people so that they may not violate those laws. I have already declared that I would continue to publish my paper in defiance of this law. May you be a witness to such action!

(Enter the editor of HITAVADI)

HITAVADI.--How mad is this Government? Is it not to suppress papers like YUGANTAR, that these new laws were passed? Indeed, it is through this YUGANTAR that they were able to gather information about bombs. If the YUGANTAR were writing mild articles, and if bomb manufactories were constructed very secretly, what occasion could there have been for the Government to learn anything about them? By the passing of these new laws, the Government are no gainers but losers.

(Enter the editor of VANDE MATARAM)

VANDE MATARAM.-- What great troubles have overtaken the country! We have heard of the disturbances that took place at Comilla. We have seen what great outrages the Gurkhas committed and how the Muhammadans disgraced the Hindus. It is an offence under the new Act to say that on such occasions the Hindus should have been ready to attack their enemies. Is it an offence to tell the people to be ready to protect themselves in such a dangerous plight? It is, indeed, the duty of the papers that wish the welfare of the country to preach this method to the people.

(Enter the editor of VIKATAVIRAPATRIKA)

VIKATAVIRAPATRIKA.--What justice is it that the proprietor of a press should be punished for printing articles written by editors (of newspapers)? Not content with punishing the printer, publisher, and editor of a paper, they say that all the materials in the Press office x would be confiscated. If the Government think that it is proper to remove these materials, why should they not pass an Act prohibiting the manufacturers of printing presses and other plant fromm manufacturing them? Do the Government not set right any defects contained in the Acts they pass? Do they abolish their Government (because of the defects)? What is the meaning, then, of the Government annihilating printing presses when they see similar defects in them by confiscating the materials therein? What justice is it to punish a hotel-keeper because a man died in the hotel by over-eating? Two cats brought some cheese and consulted a monkey as to how they should divide it between themselves. (The (arbitrator) monkey swallowed the whole of it. Exactly so will be the appropriation by the Magistrate of all the materials in a Press office when enquiring into an offence committed by the editors.

The KAL case.

40. Rfexx Referring to the arrest of the proprietor of a Poona vernacular newspaper named KAL on a charge of sedition, the NADEGANNADI, of the 13th June, remarks that it must be inferred that the European authorities not being content with the chaotic conditions they have created in Bengal, have now begun to oppress the people of the Bombay Presidency. "Is there no legislation", the paper asks, "to punish these authorities who are so bent on disturbing the public peace?"

Want of unity among the people as the cause of the present degraded condition.

41. The NADEGANNADI, of the 13th June, observes that if the distrust in the people and the policy of repression followed by Government are partly responsible for the present disturbances, our own ignorance and cowardice are doubly so. When it is sought to obtain redress of grievances ~~arising from~~ arising from any particular measure of repression, there are still more thoughtless beings who shrink back and do not join in making the representation to the Government. It was for want of unity among us that this country fell into the hands of aliens. Again, it is due to want of unity and patriotism alone that nearly three-fourths of our people are content with their present life of servitude. There are many instances to prove this; but it will not be necessary to mention them here.

Sedition suspected everywhere

42. In another article the NADEGANNADI, of the 13th June, observes that the present-day authorities ~~every~~ see sedition everywhere in the country. No Hindu can give any kind of instruction publicly. To urge the encouragement of indigenous industries is to uphold the boycott of foreign goods and this is regarded as sedition. To advise the people not to forget their duty towards their country is also held to be sedition. In short, it seems to be the object of the authorities to put a stop to all manner of giving instruction to the ~~public~~ people. In the city of Bombay last week, a Rajput in the course of lecturing on some common topic, appears to have observed that the Indians should do what they justly consider to their duty and for this he was arrested and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. Such tyranny did not exist even in the days of the Mogul rulers. That under the British administration, the public safety would be so much in danger, was not even dreamt of.

43. The VEERAKESARI, of the 15th June, under the pretence of giving a specimen of pure Canarese prose, gives a story entitled, "Parasurama and the Parrot" extracted from the DHANUNJAYA.

Dancing in the cage.

Parasurama is the liberal-minded son of a rich miserly father who keeps in confinement a fine parrot. Parasurama's attention is one day directed to the parrot dancing in its gilded cage and he addresses the parrot in a long speech taunting it for its apparent unfeelingness for its own state of slavery. "Alas", says, he "You seem to have so forgotten your former free state that you are doubtful if you have still left in you the power to fly in the free air. That you are now a prisoner is no fault of yours and I do not blame you for that, but I despise you because instead of feeling your loss of liberty you dance for joy in your cage. If you had been pining I should have respected you. You look upon this gilded cage as a paradise. How can your feet have the strength to dance in this state? It shows the abject state to which your mind has been reduced. You teach a bad lesson to the world--to be happy in the condition of slavery. You proclaim to the world that prison life is happy. It is a sin to look upon your face. You will teach the baby in the womb, to love dependence on others. Wicked kings would learn to keep their subjects in slavery on seeing you dance for you in your cage! Cruel persons seem to have learnt oppression from you. Do not think you can do no good. If you give up dancing and reflect calmly you will feel that you are not altogether an insignificant creature. The cage is not your natural abode. Your natural element is the free air. God has placed your food on the tops of trees and your drink in the natural streams. Why, then, do you remain in this cage? The world is large enough to contain you as well as others. It is not necessary that you should be confined in the cage to allow room for others."

With words to this effect Parasurama dashes the cage against a post and the bird flies away.

For the week ending 27th June 1908.

No. 26 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Arrest of Mr.Tilak.

4. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 25th June, writes:--"Mr.Tilak was arrested at Bombay yesterday evening on charges under sections 124-A and 153-A. This is the message we have received to-day, and indeed it will create considerable sensation. It was nearly eleven years ago that Mr.Tilak was arrested in Bombay at the house of Mr.Khare on the charge under section 124-A; and most people in India, who are not much below thirty, will remember the sensational arrest and the sensational trial before Mr.Justice Strachey. Mr.Tilak was then not, outside Poona, so conspicuous a figure in politics as he has since been; yet it it cannot be denied that his prosecution in 1897 roused feelings throughout the country for which there has been no parallel. Not even one in a thousand believed in his guilt, and it was difficult to deduce a seditious intent from the matter which formed the subject-matter of indictment. But then, as possibly now, Mr.Tilak was believed by the authorities to be much worse than he appeared to be; and the feeling among the Anglo-Indian community against him was stronger than any of his writings or speeches warranted. Of the nature of the charge on the present occasion we have no idea; but Mr.Tilak has long been a marked man more or less always, and particularly so of late. His influence, after Surat, has been much less than before. Still it cannot be denied that he commands a large following among the class of politicians commonly known as Extremists. He still fills a large space in the public mind, and whether the result of the present prosecution will be as much to his advantage as was the last one will, indeed, depend upon the nature of the charge and of the evidence which may be adduced in support of it. There is, however, just a chance of a good deal of the sympathy which he forfeited at Surat being restored to him by the present prosecution.

last time, many (including some responsible English officials) considered that his prosecution was politically a mistake; and if we closely examine the political history of India since, it will be possible to trace the later developments in political thought and opinions to the events and experiences ofthat time. But one difference between then and now is that thereis not now, as there was then, any general ground of grievancex for the people, owing to any xxx exceptional measure of the Government. The administration of plague measures in a manner most opposed to the feelings and sentiments of the people created very widespread discontent. No such evil is now complained of. The Government of Bombay have, however, taken a serious responsibility; although there is no doubt that in taking it they have been influenced by the policy, born of x the new circumstances, of repressing disorder and violence while persisting in the prosecution of reforms."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Amir's foreign policy.

7. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 24th June, says that certain of its xxxxtry contempora-ries observe that the Amir is conspiring against the British Government with certain malcontents in his State including the SIRDARS, Mullahs, and also his brother Nazurallah; that certain of his subjects attacked the British xxxx subjects on the frontier; that it was a political mistake not to have provided for the annexation of the Muhammadan States in the Anglo-Russian Convention; and that the various privileges and facilities afforded by the British Government for the p manufacture of arms and ammunition in Afghanistan have led to the present attitude of the Amir. It is also said that the Asiatic Muhammadan States are now uniting for their common advance-ment, and that the Amir has undertaken to supply all the other States with arms and xx ammunition manufactured in Afghanistan on a very large scale. This is indeed a highly regrettable state

of things. As the Muhammadans form a considerable portion of His Majesty's Indian subjects, it would be for the welfare of all concerned that the relations between the British Government and the Amir are improved. The Amir has been receiving a subsidy of 18 lakhs of rupees annually from the British Government; besides during his recent visit to India he was treated as an ally and an equal. It is hoped that the Amir will try to keep up these friendly relations.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Failure of justice under the British Government.

9. The LAWYER, of April, 1908 says:--The prestige of the Government of the British in India depends on their administration of justice in this country. Some European Government officials do not understand this and make the justice of their courts depend upon the colour of the accused standing before them, and the conduct of these few reflects discredit on the name of the British Government itself. For example, in the case in which Rungiah Gounden of the Nilgiri Tonga Company charged three Military officers with having assaulted him and caused damage to his property, the conduct of the Magistrate who tried it was, at every step, most reprehensible. First of all, even when the examination of the prosecution witnesses had not been completed, he asked the jurors to declare the accused not guilty under section 198, Code of Criminal Procedure, on the ground that the witnesses who had been examined till then contradicted each other. The strange feature of this is, that he has acted quite against the provisions of the very section which he quoted as his authority; because section 288, Code of Criminal Procedure, clearly states that the Court can ask the Jurors to give a verdict of "not guilty" only if, after all the prosecution witnesses had been examined, the Court thinks that no offence has been proved against the accused, and in this case the Magistrate addressed the jury when

there were still some witnesses tobe examined for the prosecution Secondly, the prosecution witnesses in this case were illiterate people like carriage drivers and syces, and the Coutt was x not justified in expecting from these people connected and wholly corroborative evidence about the case. Thirdly, the Court has remarked in the judgment, that though there were grounds for believing this case to be true, there was not evidence enough tobring home the offence to the accused. But when the Court admits that there were grounds for believing the case to be true, should it not have examined the remaining witnesses also? Thus we see how many legal flaws there are in this case.

"Is the law of Madras different from the law of Bengal?"

10. The AGNIKULADITTAN, of the 20th June, writes:--Our readers know that one Srijut Krishna Sarma was arrested in Madras recently on a charge of having made a seditious speech at Karur four months back. The Sessions Judge of Karur, who was moved to release him on bail, refused to do so. Even ruffians, who have committed murders, are released on bail. In Bengal persons who have been charged with sedition as in this case, have also been released on bail; and even some persons connected with the bomb outrage case have been allowed to go on bail. Perhaps the law of Madras is different from the law of Bengal!

The system of trial by jury

11. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 20th June, remarks that the system of trial by jury in certain cases is considered as a palladium of popular liberty and that they jury must consist exclusively of impartial and informed men to produce the benefit contemplated. The representative popular assemblies are agitating for a large increase to the number of cases tried by jury. But unfortunately the system, as at present followed, is fraught with more harm than good, owing to the injudicious selection

of persons to constitute juries, ~~than~~ some of whom even go to sleep while a case is proceeding. In many instances they give a verdict contrary to law and facts and defeat the purpose for which they were empanelled. Some even stoop to receive ~~x~~ illegal gratification from parties and allow themselves~~x~~ to be swayed by recommendations, etc. This state of things can be remedied if English-knowing persons are selected as a rule, in all cases for they will understand the discussion between Judge and counsel which will materially help them in arriving at a verdict. This being not possible at present, the authorities should bestow special attention on the selection of juries and see that one juror at least in every panel is a competent man whose lead the others may be expected to follow.

A Muhammadan Judge for the High Court of Judicature, Madras.

12. The SHAMS-UL-AKHBAR, of the 15th June, writes that our just British Government appointed one Hindu Judge and one Muhammadan Judge in the High Courts, for the population of India is mostly composed ~~that the~~ of these two nations. It is an admitted fact that the laws of marriage, endowments and inheritance of the Hindus and Muhammadans are very obstruse and intricate, and that these can be fully and clearly expounded only by men belonging to theHind and Muhammadan communities. In Bombay also the percentage of Parsis being greater than in any other place, the Government has appointed a Parsi Judge. Whereas the want of a Muhammadan Judge in the Madras High Court is much felt. If no competent Barrister is available in Madras, several Muhammadan Barristers are available in Northern India, who are fully competent to hold the place of a Judge in the High Court of Judicature at Madras. The SHAMS, in conclusion, invites the attention of the Government to the above matter and hopes that a Muhammadan Judge will~~x~~ be appointed in place of the late Mr.Justice Boddam.

(k) General.

The Government scenting sedition everywhere.

13. The LAWYER, of April 1908, writes:--The members of a literary association had arranged for a lecture on "The proof of the human creation" in the Minerva Lodge at Amritsar. But the police scented sedition even at this meeting and graced the occasion with their presence! These people can worry the public only if they express anything against the Government; but under what section of the Penal Code will they punish a man if he has a strong seditious feeling at heart? By the Government thus fancying sedition in every bush and making much fuss over the matter it is only making even people, who would not have dreamt of sedition, think of it always.

The magistracy and justice.

14. The YADARTA VACHANI, of the 20th June, observes:--It appears one Muhammad Shah fired some shots near a thoroughfare at Rawalpindi quite against the provisions of law and thereby wounded a youngster so seriously that he is now in a precarious condition. ~~Bxt xkixx~~ The man was caught by the father of the wounded boy and admitted his guilt. But still no steps were taken to prosecute him for the offence. Thereupon a complaint was lodged before the District Magistrate alleging that the Police, having been bribed by the Muhammadan, ~~Magistrate alleging that the Police, having been bribed by the Muhammadan,~~ had sent a false report of the occurrence. But the Magistrate dismissed it without even summoning the Muhammadan, merely because the petition was drafted by Setram, who was one of the accused in the Rawalpindi riot case, and was subsequently acquitted by the Sessions Judge. It is not at all desirable that the authorities should now act in such a way as to increase the already existing unrest in the land. How are they justified in wreaking their private vengeance, casting justice to the winds? It does not become the Judges at this juncture to regard the Hindus as their enemies and the Muhammadans as their friends.

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd June, observes:--Sometimes

Lord Morley on the present condition of India.

Lord Moxrley talks in riddles and such are his words uttered during the recent Indian Civil Service dinner, viz., "It is the duty of the Indian Secretary to harmonise the views of the Anglo-Indian and the Indians about India." We are not able to understand what he means by this statement. Now, the dxkyxmfxpxm the Indian Secretary has a double responsibility on his shoulders; one is his duty of protecting the British, as one of the Ministers of the Emperor, and the other is his duty of protecting the xxx Indians, as the person in whose hands the Emperor has vested the control of India. He would not have this double responsibility if India were a self-governing country like England, or even if England hax xx had nothing to gain by her possession of India. For example, the colonies like Canada and Australia form part of the British Empire; and yet the relationship between them and England is purely friendly and has no pecuniary basis, and so the views of the Colonials quite agree with these of the Englishmen. But the condition of India is quite different. She is so completely dependent upon England that what is loss to her is gain to England and what is gain to her is loss to the latter. Thus, it will be a gain to India if her industries are in a flourishing condition; but this will xx adversely affect the trade of the Englishmen and cause loss to them. Similarly, it will be a gain to India, if all Government employments are given to the Indians; but this will preclude the Englishmen earning thousands of rupees here. Thus the view of the Englishmen will always be to make as much profit as possible from India, while the view of the Indians will be that they should have all the benefits and enjoy xxxx all the rights. So naturally the view of the one clashes with that of the other and Lord Morley feels it his duty to reconcile them. But how is he to do it? If the Englishmen care only for the immediate gain to them by their possession of India, it is, no doubt, against their interest to grant rights and privileges to India. On the other hand, if they realise that, should India become free and wealthy, it will even-

tually help their trade, even though it may cause immediate loss to them, they will not be wise in preventing the progress of India. Now, coming to the desire of Lord Morley to harmonise the views of the Anglo-Indians and the Indians about India, this will not at all be possible, if the Englishmen act with the view of taking advantage of their possession of India to drain her completely of her wealth. But it will be possible if they act on the principle that it will add to the fame and prestige of England if she helps to raise one of her dependencies to an equally high level with herself.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd June, observes:--From the speech of Lord Morley on the occasion of the Civil Service dinner, we see that he sincerely wishes to be just towards India. But he has not the boldness to carry out his object. The sun-burnt Anglo-Indians around him terrify him and confuse him. Though the popular agitation in India is now conducted more openly and with more earnestness than before, nothing has happened to give room to an apprehension of danger to the British Government. Such being the case, what did Lord Morley mean by his statements that "Dark clouds are gathering in the Indian sky" and "The present juncture is one of those unhappy events that have occurred at times in the history of the relation between England and India." Perhaps he referred, in these statements, to the recent bomb outrages or the prosecution of various papers for sedition, or the riots of Tinnevelly! There is nothing very serious in either some papers writing seditious articles or even in the occurrence of petty riots. These are of every-day occurrence in European countries. But the bomb outrages are indeed a serious matter. If the people get accustomed to wreak their vengeance by throwing bombs, what happens to-day to the Government officers may happen to-morrow to every one among us. But from the Police enquiries we are led to think that these outrages have not had much support from the people in the country. Even Lord Minto said that this was only an introduction from foreign countries and did not originate in India. So it is clear that it is only the hasty act of some

418 hair-brained youngsters and has not ~~justified in taking the deeds of a mutiny,~~ the support of the Indian community and therefone Lord Morley is not justified in taking the deeds of a few to denote the feelings of the many and stating that dark clouds are gathering in the Indian sky. He himself says, lower down in his speech, x "The Indians are only progressing on the lines taught by us", and if he has not yet understood that the Indians who are progressing on the lines taught by the British are not of the stamp of Kudiram Bose, it must only be the result of the bad advice of the bad ministers around him. The progressing Indians mentioned above are only those that have been working in common associations like the Congress and their only aim has been to acquire for their associations an important share in the Government of their country. In working with this aim they have been proceeding on purely lawful lines. So, no xxx danger can befall the British Government from the progress of the Indians, as Lord Morley thinks. Though the ultimate goal of India is SWARAJ, no attempts are being made now to endanger the British Government. We cannot believe that Lord Morley xxxx thinks that the enlargement of the rights of the people will tell upon the stability of the British Government; on the other hand, he must know, that it will strengthen the Government materially.

The INDIA, of the 20th June, writes:--Recently, in the course of a speech, Lord Morley observed: "I am trying my best to avoid the difficulties that are inevitable in the case of a responsible Government." If this statement had been made with a sincere conviction and not with the motive of pleasing his audience, there is room for us to hope that he will hereafter at least act on the advice of the Indians whom he regarded as his enemies. Lower down in the same speech he says: "None can deny that a new spirit has arisen in India which cannot be destroyed by any one. It is from us that they learnt it and if we do not act amicably in consonance with their views, the fault will lie with us and not with them. It will also greatly endanger our Government. No one will admit that a despotic rule will always be possible and especially so with the English public behind us." Though these words of his bespeak a realisation on his part of the real condition of India

India at present, his statement,"It is from us that the Indians have learnt the new spirit" makes one think that he still entertains the idea that it is the English education that has given rise to the new spxiti spirit among the people. But this describing this spirit as one that cannot be destroyed by me clearly shows that he recognises that it is not only a certain specified community but the whole of the Indian public that has been imbued with the new spxirit. Once this conviction has crept into the mind of Lord Morley, we can expect that thx he will soon find his way to conduct the administration of India on smooth lines without giving room to troubles, such as have arisen recently.

The contagion of Bengal has spread even to Madras.

17. The INDIA? of the 20th June, remarks:--Our Government is acting on the foolish idea that it can suppress our efforts to acquire liberty by means of repression. It was only the authorities of the Bengal Presidency that were till now acting foolishly like this; but now the contagion has spread even to the authorities of the Madras Presidency. These have prohibited public meetings in Moore Market, the Beach and other public plac es. There is nothing xmore stupid than this. If the authorities try to suppress the open and mild attempts of the people for the acquisition of their rights, it may only lead to the people working secretly as in Bengal and will eventually prove harmful to the authorities themselves. Then therre is no use of their throwing the blame on this or that man as in Tinnevelly; because it was the illegal remanding to custody of Mr.Chidambaram Pillai that they really led to the riots there, though the authorities subsequently attributed tx them to the speeches of Mr. Chidambaram Pillai.

Sir George Clarke on the recent events.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th June, writes:--It cannot be gainsaid that a true note of sympathy for, and a sincere

expression of interest in, the people of this country characterised the recent speech of Sir George Clarke in the Bombay Legislative Council. We are glad at the facts that he promised certain new rights of self-government to the District Municipalities of Bombay and that he expressed his wish that the rulers and the ruled must always be on friendly terms. But we do not at all agree with him in his statement that the recent horrible events were caused by some ~~xix~~ youngsters, who had not enough of education, at the instigation of some mischievous men and that it was therefore the duty of the Government to take prompt steps to suppress these people. No doubt some stray persons might have goaded the youngsters to do the deeds they have committed. But we can surely say that these are neither the educated classes nor the popular leaders, but only certain irresponsible men who could not foresee the consequences of their acts.

The partiality of the officials.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th June, remarks:--A native peon has been arrested for the offence of having brushed against a European lass near a church adjoining the Allahabad Railway Sedition. Any number of Europeans have outraged the honour of Indian ~~x~~women and yet have escaped scotfree; but an Indian has been arrested for the heinous crime of having brushed against a European lass in a hurry! And yet these officials are vaunting that they do not know what partiality is!

The TIMES OF INDIA on the present condition of India

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th June, observes:--The TIMES OF INDIA criticises the statement of Lord Morley that it will not always be possible to rule India with an iron hand as the British have been doing till now, and says that it is a false view that a suppression of the rights of the Indians has been the chief feature of the English rule in India for the last two or three years. It adds that no country in Europe enjoys the same rights

that India does under the British rule. It is no wonder that it writes so, for it is only an Anglo-Indian paper. If the rights of the Indians are trodden under their feet by the rulers, surely it cannot affect the Englishmen in any way! What do we Indians care about the rights of the people in other countries of Europe? We only ask for certain rights as subjects of the British Empire; because not only have we not been given all the rights to which we are entitled as subjects of the British Empire, but we are not allowed to enjoy even the rights that we have. So the words of the TIMES OF INDIA only show its racial arrogance and rude nature. Apart from the repressive measures recently passed by the Government, curtailing the rights of the people, many are the restrictions that have been placed upon the exercise of their rights by the Indians. Firstly the vesting of unlimited powers in the hands of the Police and the Magistracy in India has made it possible for them to block any act of any individual at any time. Thus the Municipal President here has prohibited meetings in the vicinity of the Moore Market and the Commissioner of Police has done the same thing in the Beach. Does not the fact that any official can prohibit meetings by a stroke of his pen imply a curtailment of the rights of the people? Secondly, if the newspapers point out the grievances of the people their position is endangered. Thirdly, the Magistrates and Judges mete out justice, not on an impartial basis, but according to the wishes of the rulers. Fourthly, the Government does not, as a matter of fact, like the growth of the SWADESHI movement, though it poses to like it much. Fifthly, is it not a curtailment of our rights for the Police to dog our leaders wherever they go and worry our SWADESHI preachers in and out of season? Those who are in the service of Government, or under obligations to it in any way, are bound down and terrorised into not having even the scent of SWADESHI. Does this indicate our freedom? The Police arrest every passer-by who utters the words VANDE MATARAM and release him after taking a bribe from him! If any zamindar evinces an interest in the cause of SWADESHI, the Collector of the

district sends for him direct and warns him! Even grown up students, who attend public meetings or act against the will of t their teachers, are rusticated and debarred from appearing for x their examinations! Perhaps all these show a preservation of our rights.

Then again the TIMES OF INDIA says that there is nothing to prevent any honest man x working for his country. But what is the definition of the TIMES OF INDIA for an honest man? Perhaps, in its opinion, every adorer of the Whites is an honest man! No doubt it is true that none blocksx the movement, of such people, e-g., Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. Though , if all patriots of India be men like Salimullah, the difficulties of the British Government will be lessened a great deal, still the condition of the Indians will then resemble that of the subjects of Russia or Turkey, So if England expects the Indias to be reduced to that condition, she will have to dispense with her Parliament and other free institutions and adopt the cruel methods of the Russian administration.

Foreign trade and SANATANA DHARMA.

22. Adverting to the SANATANA DHARMA (a code of principles of human conduct) the SWADESAMIX SWADHARMAPRAKASINI, purporting to have been published on the 27th May, but received on the 22nd June, observes:--"It must be recognised that it is not desirable to use foreign articles. The foreigners who fill their stomachs with beef and enjoy the xdesert of bones, by them, while Hindus whose hair stands on end when they even hear the wordd beef, would have their articles of food free from such things. We understand there is not a single substance x in the articles manufactured by foreigners whose rules of conduct are contrary to the SANATANA DHARMA that does not injuriously affect it. Even those who style themselves intelligent persons and use foreign articles do not even in their dreams seem to have enquired, 'How are these things manufactured? What substances go to make these things? Are these things prejudicial to SANATANA DHARMA

It is not an exaggeration to say that the goddess of discretion has abandoned those persons. Probably that holy goddess would have found the Indians growing sinful owing to their use of foreign things which are manufactured with substances noxious to SANATANA DHARMA and abandoned them as unworthy to be approached. It is, therefore, perhaps that the Indians are making use of articles indiscriminately, provided they appear to be agreeable, without minding whether they are SWADESHI or foreign or noxious to their SANATANA DHARMA. Their theory is that the only holy thing is what is agreeable to the eye."

"Lawful weapon".

23. Referring to the "Boycott" resolution at the recent Kistna-Guntur District Conference, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 21st June, observes:--"Those who opposed the boycott resolution in the District Conference at Tenali advanced a strange and groundless argument. Their view was that boycott must not be employed anywhere except in Bengal. Should we not feel the suffering of our Bengal brethren as our own, all of us being the natives of the same country? For the mischief of certain rowdies in the Punjab, respectable pleaders of Lahore were subjected to severe persecution and Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported. On account of certain riots in Tinnevelly, Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai were charged with sedition. The Police espionage in the case of educated persons and such other measures of the Government provoked the people in all places. It is simply madness to say that the time to have recourse to boycott has not yet come in other places than Bengal. It is said that this resolution is not a proper one because it is associated with hatred. A master wrenches bread off the mouth of his servant, and refuses to give it back when the latter requests him for it and threatens him (the servant) that he would thrash him for having asked him to return it. The servant thereupon says that he would resign his appointment and give

up the dress given by his master. Can the servant be said to cherish any hatred towards his master ~~xxxx~~ under such circumstances? Similarly, what can we do if the Government is provoked by what we have done?"

Lord Morley 'the Philosopher'

24. Referring to the speech of Lord Morley at the recent Civil Service Dinner, the KISTNA-PATRIKA, of the 21st June, observes "To those who make a critical study of his speech, it would seem that his mind was confused by the sudden appearance of the bomb-throwers and ~~tha~~ he dreamt of some agitation or other in India. It does not appear that he is gifted with the far-seeing power to realise the actual state of affairs and to satisfy the aspirations of the people. While this speech vacillates between mutually inconsistent ideas, such as apprehension in one place and dignity in another, doubtfulness in one place and resolution in another, it is mere delusion to base any hopes on it. It appears Lord Morley regarded the establishment of Universities to be more momentous than the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. But if we examine his educational measures a little, we see that very few measures contributed to the misery of the country more than they. Lord Morley believes that education is the chief cause of unrest now. No doubt this is true to a certain extent. But it is an undoubted fact that the natural desire for freedom in human beings and the repressive measures inaugurated by the Government fomented that unrest. Lord Morley does not seem to have understood this secret as yet. Those who are blinded by despotic power cannot attempt to get out of the darkness of authority, however intelligent and learned they may be. In whatever light his speech is viewed Lord Morley seems to be but a false philosopher. It is wrong to suppose that the people will be satisfied by such speeches and give up their movement. The liberty of the people has begun to shine forth. Self-help and self-exertion are increasing. Unrest cannot cool down until the ideal which moves every heart is realised."

25. Referring to Mr.Scott, the new Collector of Kistna,

"Our new District Collector" the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 21st June, observes:--"We warn Mr.Scott the newly appointed Dt Collector of our district, that, unless he kept at bay the wicked persons whoconceal their faults and carry tales to him to win his favour, he might subject himself to the danger which overtook Mr.Parsons, however fair minded and open hearted he may be. It was on account of the evil influence of the tale-bearers that the administration of Mr.Parsons, which would otherwise have closed to the perfect satisfaction of the people, culminated in a miserable catastrophe. Moreover, there is much difference between those days and the present times. The officials are now confronted with many a problem that did not exist then. The troubles of administration are increasing every day. Farsightedness, patience and impartiality were never more in requisition in the officials than now."

27. The SWARAJ, of the 25th June, writes as follows:--

"Your secret has been known" "Just when the natives felt that the rulers of India were foreigners their affection for a foreign king began to wane. As soon as they perceived that the natives were looked upon worse than slaves, they began to search for means to free themselves from their thralldom. No sooner did they note that the native trade was ruined,,than they prepared themselves to fell the big tree of foreign trade with the sword of boycott. Immediately as they realised that national education, the source of national power, was wrecked, they ceased to listen to the false teachings of foreigners. Thus the 'wisdom-weapon' of national movement has warded off the 'illusion-weapon' of foreigners. Since then the blind strength of despotic authorities has diminished while the national strength has increased; the prisons have been opened to receive patriots; the Hindus--incarnations of patience--have become enraged. The agitators have come out as actors on the stage of the 'wisdom-war' of New India. All this has been

very annoying to the great stage, Mr.Morley, the head of the despotic authorities. Thereupon, he appointed spies who are as so many wheels to the machine of the 'illusive Government', and enacted the 'Gagging' Act and the 'Press' Act. But ~~whether~~ whatever may be the number of these Acts, they cannot affect even the dust at the feet of the actors on the stage of the 'wisdom-war' of New India. The Hindus ~~xk~~have made out your cunning and your tricks. They will no longer give room to your cunning and flattering words. They are weighing the strength and weakness of yours~~x~~ as well as theirs. They relied on the words ~~xxxx~~ of a great man, who said that if all the Hindus should assemble at one place and spit, the spittle would swell into a sea and carry away England. Knowing that their happiness or misery conceerns them ~~xxx~~ only and not any others, they walk in the direct path. How could the unwise stand in the way of those who tread such a wise path? ~~How could the unwise stand in the way of those who tread such a wise path?~~ May God ever help the wise.'

"Lord Minto and the purdah"

28. Referring to the statement of Lord Minto ~~xx~~ on the occasion of the passing of the new Press Act, namely, that both the rulers and the ruled will be benefited if the purdah between them were removed, the NAVAYUGA, of the 25th June, observes:--"The Congress has been lifting the purdah and revealing the secrets of the Indians for the last 23 years. As the secrets became revealed, the people were put to loss more and more and they received no benefit. Soon after the authorities noted the unanimity among the Bengalees, Bengal was partitioned. One repressive measure after another has been passed. Now that the Congress has collapsed, 'this ~~X~~Governor-General' thought that it would be well 'if the purdah were lifted once again'. On account of his unsympathetic proceedings, not one purdah but many came into existence to obscure his vision. Ah! How fair is it to lift the purdah, in order that the secrets of the people may be revealed while the Government screen themselves with the Official Secrets Act!"

30. The SHAMS-UL-AKHBAR, of the 22nd June, writes that in the recent religious fracas between the Sunni and Shiah sect of Muhammadans of Lucknow, one suffered death, and several others were wounded. It is to be regretted that Shiahs, who call themselves by different names in different places, make some innovation or other in order to wound the religious feelings of the Sunnis. It is a pity that Government does not think of adopting coercive measures in order to suppress such movements. The silent attitude of Government in such matters as these clearly indicates that Government wants to emblaze the flame of hostility and discord between these two sects.

Fracas between the Sunnis and Shiahs.

31. The JARIDAH-ROZGAR, of the 20th June, inserts a translation of an article headed "Anarchy in India" published in the AL-LIVA, of Cairo, of which the following is a nucleus:--"A brief review of the administration of the British in Egypt and the treatment accorded by them to the Egyptians, makes us infer that the British Raj is built upon servitude and dependence. The British are using every possible means and are doing their level best to save India from foreign raids, for India is the wealthiest, most prosperous and populous colony of the Britannic kingdom. Having this view they have come to an understanding with Russia, their old and inveterate foe, and have also made friendly alliance with Japan.' The British, who have come to India for the purpose of trade, have somehow or other secured the possession of India at a time when party-feeling, racial hatred, and discord were rampant in India. The success to the British arms was mainly due to the ignorance of and want of unity amongst the Indians. But the long rule of the British in India awakened the Indians to their present activity. They have given up all mutual disagreement and disunion. They are now struggling to free themselves from a foreign oppressor. This idea of patrio-

Anarchy in India.

tism has been created in their minds since the time of the triumphant victory of the Japanese over Russia. The Indians do not like to lead a degrading life and to be downtrodden any more. They are discontented with the Government of the British. The aspirations of the British are beginning to take shape. The British are very much afraid of the anarchial aims and the outrageous doctrines of the Indian patriots. The French newspapers inform us that the British Government has found out certain papers of the secret society formed at Calcutta with the object of inciting people to break into open revolt, to murder the Viceroy, Lord Kitchener, and other great officers. The other point which has greatly unhinged the minds of the British is the raids on the frontier. The hostility of the Amir and the patriotism of the Indians will involve the British in insurmountable difficulties. The British on one side and the brave and patriotic Afghans and Indians on the other will fight in the plains of India and Afghanistan.

III. LEGISLATION.

The Press Act and the Zamindars of Bengal.

32. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th June, writes:--We are led to think that the Press ACt recently passed by the Imperial Legislature is the outcome of a petition sent by five Zamindars of Bengal to the Lieutenant-Governor, complaining of the increase of sedition and rioting in the country and asking for an Act to gag the press which which was inciting the people. It is strange that these five gentlemen alone should have felt that their lives and property were in serious danger. It is stranger still that they should have acted on the cry of theAnglo-Indians that the Bengal Presidency was in a topsyturvy condition without caring for the words of the Indian newspapers that it was the Anglo-Indian officials who were upsetting the natural state of the Province! We will only call these persons idiots who fancy that they can never depend upon the Anglo-Indians; but the Indian public will regard them

traiotors to their country. Apart from this, the trick played by the Government of India with regard to this petition surpasses everything. It has not published either the date of the petition or the date on which itx was peceived. If it is a fact that it has taken or will take any steps on the strength of this petition, there is nothing more foolish than this act.

The policy of repression.

33. The VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 25th June, in reply to those who condemn the repressive measures of Government, particularl the recent Acts relating to newspapers and explosives, observes that if we look back tinto the past history of India, the Hindu as well as the Muhammadan kings were all sole despots with absolute powers over the life and property of their subjects. They could, at any time, put to death any person without trial and also confiscate his property. When Balban was the Emperor of Delhi there was serious riot in Bengal to suppress whhich most cruel and horrible sentences were passed, the ringleaders and even their blood relations having been all made to stand in a row in LAKSHMANAVATI street and hanged. If the situation should become so serious, the British Government can also suspend the civil law and deal with the rioters summarily. But the present situation being quite easy to deal with, the Government has no need of displaying its absolute power. There can be no doubt that those who pretend to work for the progress and welfare of the country, will, by transgressing the laws of Government as well as of religion, become real obstacles in the way of progres

V. RROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Famine in India.

36. Referrihg to sister Nivedita's recent address at Oxford on famines in India, the NADEGANNA-DI, of the 20th June obserees that almost every year there is famine ia some part of the country or other. Prior to the British administration famines were neither

so frequent nor so dreadful. But now as all the wealth of the country is being carried away to England, the people are altogether helpless against famines. How far a foreign Government--which would not remit the land tax even temporarily in times of extremes distress--will be agreeable to the people, the people alone can imagine. The ryots are not now able to store up ~~again~~ grain in their granaries as they used to do before. They have to sell it all for paying the land tax and ~~xtaxxxet~~ to meet their other expenses. Hundreds of thousands of people thus easily fall victims of these famines. It is regrettable that the Government shows no anxiety to find out the causes of such distress and remove them. It is always the manner of the British authorities to blame the skies for not sending rain.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"The vakils must avoid the Government Courts as far as possible."

37. The INDIA, of the 20th June, writes:- One of the objects of our present work is to establish Panchayats in every place, and so it becomes our duty to boycott the existing courts as far as possible. Though the vakils, whose income depends upon an increase of litigation in the courts established by Government, sympathise with the SWADESHI, movement, their conduct is only such as to prove harmful to their country. Some of them argue by saying; "We will work in the Panchayat courts as soon as they are established; but there is noharm in our working in the Government Courts till then." This is just like the remark of certain officials who feign sympathy with the SWADESHI movements and say: "We will work under SWARAJ as soon as it is established; but what harm is there in our working under the present Government till then?" But our view is that our people should, as far as possible, avoid Government service, and similarly we expect the vakils also to avoid the existing courts as much as they can.

38. A correspondent of the same paper says:--The moment Lord Morley, the biographer of Gladstone and a Liberal of the Liberals, became the Secretary of State for India, the Moderates among us jumped with joy at the sure prospect of the Indians acquiring their freedom under this regime. But they forgot the saintly advice given by Mr.Tilak in one of his speeches at Calcutta in which he said as follows:--"As Mr.A.O. Hume remarked in the Congress of 1903, it is the same to India whether the Government in England is Conservative or Liberal. The Government will not of its own accord grant all rights to the Indians without the latter taking any trouble to acquire the same." Later events have clearly proved the truth of the above statement to the letter. To cite instances,--(1) The partition of Bengal was confirmed in spite of numerous representations made against it? (2) The PUNJABEE, which pointed out the grievances of the people, was punished, while the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE was let off by the Government. (3) Some Barristers and Zamindars of Rawalpindi were kept in prison for four and-a-half months for nothing. (4) The deportation of our patriots Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. (5) The prosecution and conviction of the editors of many native newspapers. (6) The quartering of punitive Police wherever the Europeans fancied danger to themselves. (7) Subjecting the people to the mischief of the rude Gurkhas. (8) The supremacy of the authority of the Police. (9) The imprisonment of Srijut Bipin Chandra Pal.. (10) The bomb outrages at Calcutta. (11) The security cases against the vakils in Tinnevelly and the riots there. (12) The revival of old laws like the Regulation III of 1818 and the passing of Acts like the Seditious Meetings Act, etc. All these prove beyond doubt that the tendency of the Liberal Government has also been to prevent the possibility of India ever having self-government. So the hope of the Moderates has been dashed to the ground by the recent events and the only way for the Indians to acquire SWARAJ is for the Moderates and the patriots to unite and work hand in hand towards that one goal by means of national education adoption of SWADESHI and boycott of everything foreign.

The Indian Moderates and the English Liberals.

"The cry against the heaviness of the land-tax is also a political agitation!"

39. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th June, says:--During the debate on the budget in the Bombay Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr.Logan ramarked that the cry of the Indians against the heaviness of thexak land-tax should also be deemed tobe an agitation for the acquisition of political rights. This is the first gentleman who has construed the request of the people to be relieved from the a heavy burden as a political agitation and many will surely follow him hereafter. This view of Mr.Logan and his statement that the lands of the agriculturists speedily pass into the hands of the sowcars simply because of the low rate of the land-tax, only create our laughter!

Detectives everywhere in Bengal

43. In another article the NADEGANNADI, of the 20th June, observes:--Some curious and interesting news are now received from Bengal in connexion with the present political troubles. All the Bengalis are regarded as being hostile to Government. For the purpose of detecting criminals or seditionists, the Police are searching the houses and prying into the private correspondence of even respectable persons. Detectives are freely employed by the Police. These detectives sometimes disguise themselves as ascetics (SANYASIS) and seek lodging in the houses of prominent persons and overhear their conversations during night. Others go about as hawkers selling foreign cloth to ZENANA women and secretly try to gather information. Other enter important houses as school mistresses or hospital nurses. Owing to the presence of these detectives everywhere the Bengalis are ever on their guard.

44. The NADEGANNADI, of the 20th June, also observes that the Maharattas are also regarded with great suspicion by Government because it is believed that the Mahrattas are the real authors of the present political troubles. They are the real originators of the ideas of SWADESHISM and NATIONALISM. Latterly the Bengalis have shown themselves more powerful by protesting against the oppressive measures of Government and even resorting to murderous acts. The Government are surprised to see this manly character in the effeminate Bengali. The Mahratta leaders are suspected to be in the background forcing the Bengalis to the front to work mischief. It is for this same reason that the Bombay Government is displaying its power by harassing the public at Poona and prosecuting the popular leaders. The present-day authorities want the Indians to tremble with fear on seeing the Englishmen.

The Maharattas also suspected of sedition.

45. A paragraph in the BHARATA BANDU, of the 23th June, says that it is not surprising to see Indians losing gradually their respect for foreigners who are all grasping and who treat Indians as children incapable of managing their own affairs. If the Indians are given independence which the colonies are enjoying and are treated on terms of equality there will be no disaffection on any ground towards Englishmen. It will be admitted by all that India is unfit in its present position for independent self-government, but Indians could be more largely associated with the administration and their advice should be listened to. Every effort should be made to improve and spread education in order to dispel the ignorance prevailing among the masses. Loyalty can only spring from hearts that are well pleased and no sane person will dream of producing it by the use of a rod. No greater folly can be conceived than the efforts made by several men to curtail educational facilities on the ground that educational institutions are the hot beds of sedition. It is the English education more than the British army

Loyalty and how to creat it

that has contributed to the stability of the British Empire in India and it is the English education that has helped the Indians ~~in to~~ to understand the refinement and valour of the English which the Indians in their admiration have adopted as models for them and has inspired in them a love for the English. If that education is sought to be curtailed and abolished, Indians will fast lose their respect and admiration for them and the attempt will be like "throwing sands into one's own gruel."

Three period of British administration in India.

46. Another paragraph in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 13th June, remarks that the British administration ~~in~~ of India may be divided into three period: the first being that of Macaulay and other when the Indian administration was solely for the ben fit of the Indians and Englishmen were not permitted to penetrate into rural parts even for commercial purposes andwere not allowed to own landed property in India. The next period was that when the late Queen-Empress solemnly pledged Her Royal word that Indians and Englishmen would be treated on perfect ~~equalit~~ equality and India was then considered as the joitn joint property of Indians and Englishmen. After a short time the third period began when the idea of India being the exclusive property of Englishmen sprouted forth and with the dawn of the twentieth century, it began to gather strength and gained unprecedented vigour under Lord Curzon, who openly declared that the solemn pledge of the Queen was but an illusion,--a sop, as he opined, to deceive Indians. Lord Morley, whose proposed liberalship, is all empty conceit, renewed this idea and expressed in the House of Commons that Indians are not fit for self-government but should remain under foreign sway for ever. This "old (superannuated) Lord" is of opinion that Indians are only fit to obey the orders of the English. Indians have now, anyhow, realized the view of the English that the natives of India have no right or claim in India. If any Indian were to affirm that

these pretensions of x the Whites that natives should pay the revenue and other dues to the English and serve them in submission are subversive of their aims, he is laid by the heels as a dex sedionist. Can it be the good qualities of Indians, such as, aversion to commit violance, loyalty to their sovereign, calm temper and respectability that have disqualifeed them for self-government? How many Indians have unstintedly shed their blood and that of their countrymen to place the British Empire on a firm footing in India? Is the present autocratic rule to be the reward for all that? Englishmen should not, on any account, show this partiality. It will not be for their good. Even the ratsnake (Chira), though poisonless, will bite when the path to its hole is obstructed and the people of India, if pressed beyond endurance, will lose all regard for Englishmen.

Why Americans sympathise with Indians?

47. A correspondent in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 20th June, referring to the organisation of a society in New York which has for its aim the benevolent idea of rendering every help to Indians repairing to America for scientific instruction and of educating the American public in the real state of India. The prime cause that tended to the inauguration of this society is the desire of the Americans to see all other countries adopting their excellent form of self-government. There seems to be a general interest all over the world in matters Indian and great men in various parts are beiginning to feel pity at the miseries that Indians suffer at the hands of the foreigners. Commercial jealousy of the great powers is also contributing the same end and a famour American statesman, after a long tour in India, vouched, that Indians are rendered degenerate under British rule.. Besides these, there is another important reason for American sympathy for us. In the words of a broad-hearted American the nations of the world are but members of a large family interdependent on one another. The weal or woe of one will be felt and shared by all. The decay and extinction of a nation deprive

others of the benefits that will otherwise accrue to them by their commercial transactions with it and so it is in the interest of all that India, a vast country, should not be allowed to be devastated by the suicidal policy of "killing the goose that lays the golden egg" now pursued by British in India. If India is governed efficiently for the good of Indians, not only the English but others also could bebenefitted by commercial dealings with her. This feeling is also a strong ground of American sympathy with Indians. If India is prosperous she will be of use to the world at large. "Self-help is the best help."

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For the week ending 4th July 1908.

No. 27 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

XX.XXXXXXX VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"A simpleton among aristograts.

2. It was an act of extreme foolhardiness on the part of Lord Curzon to have entered into the lists with Lord Morley in the House of Lords. As a result of the encounter, we find the hair-brained Imperialist in a tattered and torn condition, with his wings completely clipped. We wish we had now the full text of the speeches which were delivered on the occasion, but the telegraphic summary which appears on another page is sufficiently clear, and it shows to what a woeful plight Lord Curzon had been reduced in consequence of his daring enterprise. It cannot be denied that there was some method in Lord Curzon's madness. His object in provoking a discussion on Indian matters at the present juncture was to effect a complete vindication of his policy and administration as Viceroy of India. The world has now come to believe--his political opponents, as well as most of his friends and admirers--that after seven years of office as Viceroy, Lord Curzon left a rich legacy of trouble to his successor, and that the great pro-consul whose praises were at one time sung from all quarters of the globe, will be remembered by posterity chiefly as having left the country which he ruled in

in a condition of seething discontent and unrest. Under cover of an attack on the present Government, seeking to draw attention to its mistaken methods , Lord Curzon endeavoured to justify the partition of Bengal, which, as all the world now knows, is the parent of all the present troubles in the country. He drew up a comprehensive indictment against the present Government and in his sweeping condemnation of men and measures included the xmxi Amir of Afghanistan, the late Secretary of State for India, Mr-Brodrick now Lord Middleton, and Members of the House of Commons, who are friends of the Indian people. The reply of Lord Morley shows to what heights the aged statesman can rise as a consummate debater. Both in matter and manner, the dignified rebuke and xxk castigation which Lord Morley gave to Lord Curzon must have inspired the latter with feelings of bitter self-abasement and self-reproach at this temerity in having brought on himself the ire of his great antagonist. In vain Lord Curzon interrupted Lord Morley's speech with the statement that his position was being travestied and that he had cordially and sincerely recognised Lord Morley's services. Lord Morley went on with merciless logic and with impressive earnestness of purpose to prick the bubbles of Lord Curzon's rhetoric, and to expose and denounce his mischievous meddlesomeness. Lord Morley pointed out that the refutation of the charges in connection with the partition of Bengal appeared to be Lord Curzon's main object in raising a not very fruitful discussion, but he re-affirmed his conviction that the partition was mistaken in its methods, though it was a settled fact. So far as he was concerned, Lord Morley said he never could see why it was regarded as SACRO-SANCT. Then the went xx on to say what is not very clear to us, viz., 'but its was so because it had become a test and he was willing to abide by that test.'

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

"The English colonies"

4. Referring to the position of the Indians in the English colonies, the SASILEKHA, of the 30th June, observes:--"The Indians must have the privilege to go to whichever place they like in the English Empire. Our countrymen in the Transvaal are making great efforts to attain this privilege. The Transvaal authorities treat the Indians as a degraded race and subject them to various kinds of humiliation. This fact must be well considered by the Viceroy in India and the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty the Emperor Edward. We emphatically declare once again that one of the chief causes of the present unrest is the restriction that is imposed upon our countrymen in the colonies. Efforts must be made to redress such grievances of the Indians. Repressive measures cannot bring about peace. The colonists are a bold people and there is not a single statesman in England who can cope with them. We hope that all the people in India would again submit a memorial to His Majesty Emperor Edward."

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The arrest of Mr.Tilak.

11. With reference to the arrest of Mr.Tilak for sedition, the INDIA, of the 27th June, remarks:- Mr.Tilak used to preach to all his countrymen that one ~~shoude~~ should never go beyond the bounds of law. No one in this country has as deep a knowledge of the laws of our Government as Mr.Tilak. So we are surprised to hear the authorities say that there was some seditious matters in his newspaper. But ones evil intention will encircle oneself. VANDE MATARAM! May victory be on the side of the Mahatma Tilak!

12. The INDIA, of the 27th June, writes:--We thought that the recent bomb outrages in Bengal, which are quite against the nature of the Aryans, would soon have come to an end. But we learn that there was another outrage this week. We do not know what all this is to lead to . As for the authorities of Government, they have lost all sense. They think certain preachers and the editors of some newspapers are the cause of the present discontent in the Country. On the other hand, the real cause of the discontent is the attempt of the Government, by the use of mere brute force, to suppress the noble desire of the sons of BHARATA to obtain their freedom. The Government has not realised this and the result is some rash men among the people have taken it into their heads to pay the Government in its own coin.

The recent bomb outrages in Bengal.

13. The INDIA, of the 27th June, observes:--The Bombay Government is now very active in its newspaper hunting. Till now, five papers have been caught, the editor of one of which has already been punished. The editor of another of these papers has been arrested for having composed some verses incorporating the ideas of Mazzini, the Italian patriot. The offence of another paper was that it wrote as follows with reference to the rewards given by the Government to the Police officers who detected the bomb conspiracy:--"In all other countries traitors to their countrymen are sentenced to death, while in India they are rewarded." We cannot understand what seditious idea the Bombay Government found in the above. At this juncture the Governor of Bombay has stated that he fully sympathises with the efforts of the sons of Bharata to obtain their liberty! Perhaps the aim of the Governor of Bombay is to make the Bombay Presidency also another Bengal!

The newspaper hunting of the Bombay Government.

"India is only a hunting ground for the Englishmen."

14. The INDIA, of the 27th June, writes:--Adam Smith, the great English economist, wrote in 1784, as follows, in his "Wealth of Nations" about the way in which the British were administering India:--"Every English official desires to be out of India and cease his connection with the Government as soon as possible, and once he comes away from that country, with all (x) dreams. He does not care even if the whole of India is submerged by an earthquake." The Government of the country is still in the same condition and there are also other advantages now which were not present before 1784. One of them is the facility with which these officials can run to England now in a steamer which takes only two weeks to reach England. As if this was not enough, the Government has also modified the pension and leave rules for them in such a way as to enable them to be as far as possible out of India. The result of all this is that the English officials have come to regard this country as a hunting field for them. Their main object is to stop here for a while and return to England after amassing a fortune, and live there comfortably on a pension. Even when they stay here, the higher Civil Servants spend the major ~~pension~~ portion of the year on some cool hill. These do not know anything about the life and condition of the poor people in the plains below. Generation after generation of Englishmen has thus made India a field of their exploitation and a source of income to them in old age, while the people of this country are going down day by day without having food for either their body or their minds. Still these officials treat us with suspicion and hatred! They openly call this country a "Land of Regrets" and a "Land of Exile" and stay here only with the idea of making money. If, at this juncture, some patriots try to bring about a change in the methods of this administration, they call it sedition and begin to inflict most cruel punishments upon them. Can all this be possible for ever?

(x) the hoarded wealth ~~collected~~ & acquired therein. He does not think of it even in his ~~dreams~~

15. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st July, says:--The evidence of Narendra Goswami, the approver in the bomb case, has sent a thrill throughout Bengal and has created a fear even in the minds of innocent people that they might also be implicated by him. The truth of the statement made by this man can be ascertained only in the course of the trial. We cannot believe that this man, who, in the garb of a SANYASIN, once aided in the conspiracy of some people, and who has now, owing either to the worry of the Police or some other cause, thrown all his mates overboard, is speaking the truth from beginning to end. Simply because this man implicates many respectable persons as having been members of a secret society, ~~we do not think we are justified in coming to the conclusion of a secret society,~~ we do not think we are justifed in coming to the con conclusion that the Indians, as a whole, have, against their nature, taken to the methods of the Western Nihilsts. This statement of Goswami cannot disprove the opinion expressed by Lord Minto that the recent outrages were an innovation from the WESt and quite foreign to the nature of the Indians. All those who had anything to do with this conspiracy will be severely punished according to law and it is also beyond doubt that the Government will once enact sufficiently stringent laws to prevent the recurrence of these horrible deeds. The people will have nothing to say against all this; but we are only anxious whether Lord Morley and Lord Minto, acting on the words of the Anglo-Indians, who are our enemies, will go beyond this and adopt cruel methods of administration. No doubt we need not expect this from such able statesmen as Lord Morley and Lord Minto and history also does not teach them this method; because the history of Russia is well known to them. The attempt of the authorities to suppress these by a reign of terror and oppressive measures proved of no avail and the Czar was able to restore order only by granting the people a representative Government through the Duma. Even so, we hope Lord Morley and Lord Minto will restore peace in India by taking the advice of the popular leaders and generally granting the requests of the Indians.

The present juncture.

17. The ANDHRAKESARI, ~~of the~~ issued combinedly for three weeks (ending with 12th, 19th and 26th June 1908) and received on the 29th June, observes:--"Though the bomb ourtages are being perpetrated the Government make us believe that they are resolved to grant us self-government in some form or other, but it is a mere dream. . . . . Why should not the present Indian leaders try to adopt the method of self-government that ~~prevale~~ prevailed during the time of their forefathers in their less advanced advanced state of civilization? We know that even the Americans intended to have the methods of administration of ancient India. It is true that our ancient kings possessed despotic power, but the internal administration was carried on by the people themselves. Nowhere else in the world was there such a complete and scientific division of labour in the ~~xm~~ administration of the country as in India. (~~Some important duties in the administra-tion of the country as in India.~~) Some important duties and rights were assigned to the king as well as to the subjects. The civil authority was mostly, though not exclusively, in the hands of the people. That is, the people possessed authority in social executive, judicial and educational matters. This state of affairs continued not only during the days of the Hindu kings, but it also extended to the times of the Muhammadan kings. Even during the Government of the East India Company, ~~txxk~~ these methods did not die ~~x~~out entirely- . . . . . Every village community looked after its own affairs. It levied taxes from the villagers and held itself responsible for the revenue to be paid to the Government. It appointed the village police and made them responsible for the property ~~of~~ stolen. It acted as a court of justice in settling petty disputes. It imposed taxes on its own members for the expenses of the villages. Though the village community was entirely dependent on the king, it remained, in many respects, a self-governing body. . . . . Now as the unneces-sary interference of the officials of the Government in every affair has increased, (~~the traces of ancient officials of the~~

"Let us have what we had"

~~Government in every affair has increased)~~ the traces of ancient self-government disxappeared altogether. In the present condition, there is not the least chance of appreciating the value of independence or the elevation or progress of the people. The request of the people now is 'save us from despotic authority and the tyrrany of the police, and grant us freedom.' This means the revival of the system of ancient village communities, which is necessary fot the elevation of India, and conducive to the happiness of the people, and which forms the primary cause of the stability of the English Government in India, giving the people complete freedom. Nobody can read the history of village communities without being struck that the Government have committed a grave blunder in destroying the village institutions. It can be declared without any doubt that the permanence of the British Government in India can be secured only by granting to the Indians themselves the administration of the villages as in ancient times, and allowing them to live as their forefathers did before the advent of the English. The minds of the leaders who work for the dawn of SWARAJ must be concentrated on this subject. If the national movement in India were to be sustained, these village communities must be revived. This must be the chief aim of the workers of the national movement."

"Sin against God."

18. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 28th June, writes:--"Lord Lytton curtailed the freedom of the Press under the impression that the Indians are fated to be under the English Government. Lord Curzon said, 'The Indians seek refuge under us if rains fail. What would be their fate if we ourselves were not here.' The philosopher, Mr.Morley, said that but for the protection of the English, India would be immersed in blood, anarchy, and darkness and finally ruined. This strange spirit leads every Englishman to political blindness and estranges him from justice, righteousness and truthfulness. This 'belief' is a sin against humanity. This 'belief' is a sin against God.

Every human being is a reflection of God, an image of the Almighty Narayana, and an incarnation of Eternal Brahman. To assert that India, which is the abode of such men, should instead of beigg ruled by the eternal laws of God, be always subject to the English Government, is to blaspheme God. India that has given the light of wisdom to the whole world, cannot always be in servitude. It will not fail to shine in its ancient glory once again. The long night is coming to an end. The signs of the dawn of wisdom are already appearing in the Indian sky. All this might seem poetry, but it is the expression of the devotion of the innermost heart. This is the manifestation of the grace of God. This is the eternal light of truth. Truth will never fail to triumph. The faith of the English rests largely on their material prosperity. While it is only the Indian wealth that is the main prop of the prosperity of the British Empire, while this empire was built with the blood of the sons of India, and while, lastly,, the administration of the empire is being carried on by the natives,--there is no falsehood more horrible than the statement that English protection is necessary for the life of the Indians. If this were true, association with the Indian is blasphemy; the history of the Indians is an insult to humanity; and the life of the Indians is a burden to the earth. No. No. There is an ideal for India ordained by God. The mission of the Indians is to elevate the world. This ideal cannot be realised without independence. This mission cannot manifest itself without independence. May the English, therefore, understand this matter, and may they not blaspheme God! "

Sir George Clarke's speech

20. Referring to His Excellency Sir George Clarke's recent speech in the Bombay Legislative Council pointing out the desirability of strengthening the elective element in the Municipalities the VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 27th June, remarks that, as His Excellency rightly observed, this gradual extension of privileges

giving the Indians a larger share in the administration of their country so as to increase their liberties and responsibilities would certainly create greater loyalty and affection in the people towards their administrators.

21. The MUKHBIR-I-DAKHAN, of the 24th June, writes a lengthy article on the unrest in India, of which the following is an excerpt.

The unrest in India.

The religion, language, morals, habits and customs of our rulers are quite different from those of the Indians nations. Our present foreign Government, in spite of all the difficulties, granted us freedom of speech, and liberty of the press and the Extremist party of the Hindus have abused these privileges. The lamentable incidents at Muzzaferpore have sent a thrill of horror throughout India. The Hindus yet think that they are justified in their actions. The Mussalman population of India took no part in the iniquitous conspiracy of the Hindus. The hysterical demands of the Hindus for self-government were expressed in offensive tone in some Indian papers such as the PATRIKA, BANDE MATARAM, YUGANTAR, LIBERAL and the INDIAN SOCIALIST etc.

The MUKHBIR-E-DAKHAN, of the 1st July, in continuation of its previous article on the unrest in India, further observes that the establishment of the punitive Police force in several parts of India, the suppression of the liberty of the press and freedom of speech are the direct outcome of the misdoings of the refractory Hindus. Of the several causes of the unrest of India, the following are the chief:--

The first cause which tended to the spread of the unrest of India, is the limited income of the Indian subjects and to add to it the dearness of foodgrains. These difficulties and hardships under which the Indians are labouring may be easily obviated by our Kind Government by opening technical and industrial schools and colleges in different parts of India. The Indians are sure to be benefited by such education and thus they will lead their lives as honourable citizens without provoking

the people to agitation and anarchism. If half the amount of what is contributed towards the opening of railways is spent on canals, etc., India will certainly become a landof paradise in the space of ten or fifteen years, and the other remedy for removing the effects of famine consists in increasing the customs on exports, in reducing the rate of land-tax, in helping the agriculturists with seeds and cattle in times of necessity and in opening agricultural banks.

The second cause is that Englishmen have no regard for or sympathy with Indians. The Indians are treated in a rough and unsympathetic way by Englishmen which should be given up in order to cultivate freindship between the ruler and the ruled.

The third cause is that the Proclamation of 1857 is pigeonholed and is not acted upon.

Lastly the editor says that Lord Morley has done much to ameliorate the condition of the Indians by appointing two Indians as members of the India Council.

III. LEGISLATION.

The Press Act.

22. The INDIA, of the 27th June, publishes a cartoon describing the God of liberty bursting out of the stomach of a big crane representing the new Press Act, and says that, even as Lord Krishna burst out of the stomach of Bakasura who had taken the form of a big crane and swallowed him, the God of Liberty will burst out of the stomach of the ASURA of the Press Act who has swallowed him now.

"New Acts"

23. Referring to the Explosives Act and the Newspapers Act recently passed by the Government with the intention of suppressing unrest, the ANDHRAKESARI issued combinedly for three weeks (ending with 12th, 19th and 26th June 1908) and received on the 29th June, observes:--"So long as there is a MUNAGA

gardener must root out that tree altogether, for, although he may remove the caterpillars by thousands or burn them they will come into existence whenever a certain wind blows or a certain rain falls as long as the tree remains there. In the beautiful garden of India, the MUNAGA tree of discontent has sprung up owing to some defects in the rulers and produces terror in all. It is our conviction that the State of the country will remain as it is as long as the Government have recourse to shallow measures without extirpating that tree(of discontent). It is not known why these Acts were passed in so short a time and in such great haste. Would the auspicious time expire they if they were delayed for some week longer? Would not another auspicious hour be secured to christen and name them? Would the universe be upset if they were delayed for some time? Would the Indians read newspapers in the meanwhile and wrest the country from the Government? Will the Government who get frightened at their own shadow, calmly consider this matter? There seems to be no necessity for the (NEWSPAPERS) Act now. There are not more than one or two newspapers in India which incite people to commit murders. The people will not set themselves up in opposition to the Government by their mere reading them. This Act gives the District Magistrate a great weapon of authority. It is to the prejudice of the people and not for their welfare that he is endowed with such great authority. This Act will subject the proprietors of printing presses to heavy losses. There is another important feature in this Act. The Government said that it would apply in the case of newspapers which contain incitements to commit murder, to use explosive substances and to commit 'other offences'. What is the meaning of 'other offences'? Does it mean mischievous deeds? If so, there is no fear. But if the Government should construe it so as to include mischievous writings also, then the fate of newspapers is sealed. When newspapers write harsh articles unpalatable to the white gentlemen in authority, and if the Government are thereupon provoked, call such writings mischievous and begin to

'cut the throats' of such papers (writers), can the native newspapers lift up their heads? The expression 'other offences' is a thorn on the side of the native newspapers. So long as its meaning is not expressly defined, the newspapers are subject to danger. We doubts whether the Vernacular papers, which are already almost dead out of fear, would come out of this ordeal unscathed. While the whole country is sorry for this, Lord Minto hinted that a Press Act also was needed here. From this it appears that the Legislative Council of the Viceroy is still pregnant and will soon lay one or two eggs of legislature for the country. It is said in the PURANAS that women in ancient days conceived and were delivered of children at once. Similarly even in this KALUYUGA, the Legislative Council of our Viceroy seems to be endowed with such a miraculous power."

The New Laws.

24. Referring to the Newspaper Offences Act, the MYSORE STAR, of the 29th June, observes that the Government in their fit of anger at the recent murderous acts donot seem to have realised the impropriety of punishing a whole class (the Press) for the misdeeds of a few individuals. The authorities evidently suspect sedition everywhere. Recently, a District Collector seems to have ordered that even those newspaper articles, which were lightly passed over before, will have to be closely scrutinised in the future. When the authorities look upon the people with so much suspicion, it is possible that sedition might be discovered even in innocent articles. Thus, when the existence of even MODERATE journals is in danger, it is easy to see that the fate of the EXTREMISTS' section of the press is sealed. Extreme severity in the enforcement of the new Act might exasperate the feelings of the people and lead to even greater hatred and violence against the Government. It would be well therefore to hold this Act only as a weapon to strike terror into the hearts of the EXTREMISTS and to use it only in cases of

extreme necessity. It is true that it would be ruinous fothe popular cause to misjudge the relativex strength and resources of the Government and the people and to incite the people to violence or resort to other than constitutional methods of agitation. Sedition has become very much an epidemic like the plague ravaging the whole country. As the destruction of rats is held to be the proper remedy for checking the ravages of plague, destroying the liberty of the press is considered by the authorities to be the right means of stamping out sedition. Journalists in India therefore cannot be too careful and prudent in their writings in the future.

Condemning the haste with which the Explosives Act has been passed.

25. A leader in the BHARATA BHANDU, of the 20th June, condemns the haste with which the Explxosives Act was rushed through the Legislative Council without any regard to the permanent interestx of the people affected by the Act or of the legislators themselves and says that this indecent haste clearly evidences the terrible fear that has taken pix possession of the rulers.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Want of sympathy between the several classes in India

26. The VIKATA DUTAN, of the 17th June, writes:--During the recent dinner at the Civil Service Club in London, Lord Morley observed that it has come to his knowledge that there is now a great want of sympathy in India between x the several classes of people; but this statement was objected to by some of the audience. If Lord Morley's statement is not true, what is the cause of x the never-heard-of outcry in India at present? Had it not been for this want of sympathy between the several classes why should Dr.Kemp have been provoked by the sound of the words VANDE MATARAM at Cocanada? Why should Lala Lajpat Rai have been deported? Why should there have been a riot between the

Hindus and the Muhammadans at Mymensing? Why should there have been an attempt to wreck the train in which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was to have travelled, and why should stones have been thrown on the motor-car of the Viceroy? Why should Babu Bipin Chandra Pal have been sent to prison, and why should there have been a bomb outrage at Gorakhpur and Bengal? To be brief, why should there be sedition at all? Do not all these things denote a slight hitch between the several classes in India? Perhaps, the Government officers have not realised the existence of such a hitch.

"Even foam will become a strong weapon".

27. The INDIA,, of the 27th June, reports Mr.Tilak to have said as follows during the Sivaji celebration at Poona:--"Lord Morley mocked at our SWADESHI efforts, saying that they were merely foam upon the surface. But we learn from our VEDAS that even foam may at times turn out to be a very strong weapon, because it is said that with the foam of the sea Indra was able to kill Vritrasura. Obstacles and slips are often possible in the course of an attempt; but there is no doubt that a growing tide will eventually reach the goal."

Our masses mind be educated for us to acquire SWARAJ.

28. SUMMARY. The INDIA, of the 27th June. Why dont our elders help the SWADESI movement as they do in Bengal? Our People fall into four classes:--

(1) The rich who live comfortably on wealth hoarded by their ancestors - They are not affected whether they are under SWARAJ or under a foreign Government.

(2) The middle classes - neither do they roll in riches nor suffer from poverty - They have to be in the good graces of the highers and lower classes.

(3) The lowest strata who earn their livelihood by manual labour. This is the class that suffer most; they stand much to

gain by the establishment of SWARAJ.

(4) OFFICIALS of Government form a fourth class - They court the favour and appreciation of the Government and are naturally hostile to the SWADESHI movement.

The third class which stands to gain most by the establishment of SWARAJ is illiterate and ignorant. The masses must be educated and taught to take an interest in the Government of the country. When they begin to move, nothing can stop them. We are disunited - If we succeed in uniting the people and refuse to help the foreigner in any manner, they will be compelled to leave the country and we can easily acquire SWARAJ.

"Self-control"

30. Referring to the present unrest in India and the policy proposed by Lord Morley to meet the situation, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 28th June, observes:--"As the education given by the English is the chief cause of the present unrest, the English politicians must possess self-control and not lose their balance of mind in the present crisis. This is the teaching of the philosopher, Lord Morley. What is self-control? How are we to secure it? One that is devoid of purity of mind can have no self-control. That statesman, who disinterestedly regards that his chief work lies in securing the people's welfare, can alone possess purity of mind. Oh, English statesman! Do you fear that the improvement of the Indian industries will ruin English trade ? If so, you cannot possess self-control. Do you think that the desire of the Indians for independence will be prejudicial to your despotic power? You cannot possess self-control then. Do you feel sorry that the spread of education ~~possess-se-f-~~ among our countrymen will affect your indomitable national powers? You cannot possess self-control then. Do you suppose that independence of the Indians will reduce the British supremacy? You cannot possess self-control then? Try to judge, with unbiased mind, of the honour or dishonour and the advantages of disadvantages

of those whom you undertook to govern. Then your mind will become pure and you will have self-control. It is only then that the wisdom of not only the Indians, that the policy of Lord Morley who is intent on protecting his people's interests unrestrainedly is to adopt peaceful measures so long his nation's welfare is unaffected. While deprecating repressive measures, he gave his assent to the newly-passed Explosives Act and the Press Act. The policy of statesmen is fathomless. The expressions of the Saint Morley are unintelligible to ordinary men."

"What is 'possible'?"

31. Referring to the possible work of the new movement, the SWARAJ, of the 2nd July, observes:--"National education will not fail to generate patriotism. Feringhee law courts will be closed when Panchayat courts are started. If gymnasia are established in villages, people will be able to defend themselves. The moral sense and courage of the nation must be improved. The policy of passive resistance must be persisted in. Consider how much work we have turned out in the course of two years. We regarded the Feringhees as gods and confided in what all they said. We named our towns, wells, town halls, etc., after them. All this has changed within a period of two years. All our respect for foreigners has vanished. Now our schools, our libraries, our town halls, and such other popular institutions commemorate the names of our patriots like Gokhale and Dadabhai Naoroji."

How to conciliate the British and the Indians.

33. SUMMARY. THE VRITTANTA CHINTAMAni, of the 27th June-(Pro-British Correspondent). Causes of the present estrangement of feelings:--

(1) Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, and the refusal of his successors to undo it. With it began all the political trouble.

(2) Haughty and contemptious attitude of irresponsible subordinate European officials towards respectable Indians of position - Formerly British parliament used to keep the officials including the Governors General under check. That had been relaxed - Committee should be appointed to report on the misdeeds of the officials here and bring them to book.

The Mutiny day celebration.

34. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 27th June, says that a Simla Correspondent of the MADRAS TIMES reports that a pamphlet printed in England is being circulated in India, which says that the 50th anniversary (the Diamond Jubilee) of the Great Indian Mutiny should be celebrated, the British (the PERINGEES) should be driven out of India, and revenge should be taken upon those who killed the rebels in the mutiny, and that all Indians should unite in carrying out these projects. The paper remarks that it would be well to trace out these pamphlets and destroy them. (x) It would therefore be better to live peacefully under the British with a deep sense of gratitude rather than try to shake off their authority and subject ourselves to others, perhaps still more despotic.

Sedition suspected everywhere

35. The NADEGANNADI, of the 27th June, observes that the police in the BRITISH territories form too great a menace to public freedom. Every popular leader interested in politics is always surrounded by spied and detectives closely watching his movements. Some days ago the house of one Mr.Shamrao Kulkerni was searched for the simple reason that Mr.Tilak was his guest at Belgaum for a few days. What regard can there be towards a Government that looks upon its subjects with so much suspicion?

(x) For the benefits of the British Rule in India are far greater than the evils.

Sir George Clarke on the present situation.

37. Referring to His Excellency's remarks relating to the anarchists' movement in India the VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 27th June, observes that though it is ~~ex~~ admittedly the duty of every Indian to co-operate with the Government in suppressing the dangerous movement, it must be remembered that in order that these united efforts may be successful, ~~i~~ the Eruropean officials must learn to be more just and patient like His Excellency in their attitude towards the Indians. The administrative heads are no doubt quite alive to their responsibilities and if the policy ~~which~~ which they dictate be strictly carried out by their suberdinates, the administration will be without a parallel. The present political troubles are all the result of the high-handedness of the European subordinates. It is essential therefore that His Excellency the Viceroy as well as the heads of the local Governments should proceed to put an end to such high-handedness.

Fear or justice?

38. In continuation of the articles which appeared in its previous issue the VEERAKESARI, of the 30th June, says:--It is true that the Government of India is a just and civilized Government, and is certainly much better than the Maghul or the Russian rule. But it is never proper even for the most timid (SIC) to ~~their heads~~ rob the people of their liberty to this extent. The wise should always keep their heads cool and should not lend their ears to (false) tales and wicked suggestions without due enquiry. Some two years ago a revolutionary movement was made in Russia, and the PIONEER was the foremost in upholding the conduct of the people and said that it was a right course open to an oppressed and unarmed people. But now when a few bombs appeared in India like crackers in a rat hole, the same PIONEER ~~pours-out-its-venom-by-sayg~~ pours out its venom by saying that ten black heads should fall for every white man killed. England and Russia are great enemies and consequently the PIONEER wished

the downfall of the Russian Government. The case is different with India. The Government of India will never act upon the wicked suggestion of the PIONEER. For, if it be decided that ten black heads should fall for every white man killed, the upright Government will not fail to see that ten white heads fall for every black killed. The PIONEER'S vituperations can therefore do no harm either to India or to the noble British Government. The readers are probably familiar with the story of the tyrant who one ~~day and asked his minister~~ day while out on a walk with his minister, saw two owls talking to each other and asked his minister, who could understand the language of the birds, what they were speaking about. The minister replied that the ~~six~~ owls wished the king long life, rejoicing at this oppressive rule because they thought that the king by his cruelty and oppression would leave many villages in ruins and these villages would become rich legacies to their children and grandchildren. The king hearing this account felt very much ashamed of his past conduct and thereafter entirely changed his methods of government. The PIONEER'S suggestion is analogous to this anecdote. If the Government should carry out this suggestion, only 2,000,000 blacks would fall for all the 200,000 whites in India (killed). Even in that case there will be 298,000,000 blacks still ~~felt~~ left in India without a single white. Further, the wicked suggestion of the PHERINGEE ~~within~~ newspaper amounts to welcoming the death of the 40,000,000 whites in England. But there are blacks enough even for that in India. There will not then be room here even for one or two owls like the PIONEER. The PIONEER SHOULD AT ONCE BE PUNISHED FOR ITS WICKED SUGGESTION which is not only sedition in India but is also treason against England. What is the YUGANTAR before this insane paper of the dunghills? Under these circumstances it is not right for our just and impartial Government to have punished only the YUGANTAR and left the PIONEER still at large. Sir Adamson has poured out a storm of abuse upon the Indian press; but how much condemnation should the English press come in for at that rate? There is an ocean

of difference between the sedition which the PHERINGEE newspapers preach and the sedition which the native newspapers preach. The opportunity, when most of the non-official members of the Legislative Council were absent, was availed of and the new laws were passed at a single sitting! What need was there for these laws? Was there not the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code? These laws are very much like the old custom of cutting off the hands of all thieves and also those suspected of theft. It follows that sections 117, 124-A, 153-A, and 505 were altogether useless. Why then is the Penal Code made severer from time to time? Sir Adamson's denunciations can have no meaning. It is needless to fear that any evil will result from the writings of papers like the YUGANTAR. For India would not have been in its present state if the people were to act upon the advice of newspapers. How many papers have been preaching SWADESHISM and the BOYCOTT? How many urging the establishment of village schools for the masses! How many are urging the establishment of PANCHAYAT courts and discouraging litigation in law courts! How many are advicing unity among people and how many urging physical culture! How many have been pointing out the value of co-operation and the advantages of independence to a nation! Still, how few have followed that advice! If people will not hear such simple advice, how foolish it is to fear that they are capable of seditious designs! It is not right thus to take away the liberty of the people. It is not proper to put out the light (of newspapers). Our benign Government deprived us of our liberty of speech and writing. Our religious heads took away the liberty of travelling across the seas. Oh, Indians! Have you the liberty to go abroad and learn foreign arts? Are you free in Natal? Have you the right to set foot on Austrian or Canadian soil? How regrettable it is that man should deprive us of the three primary rights which God gave us? We owe the Arms Act to Lord Lytton's kindness. Since the passing of that Act, the mouth and the pen were the only weapons left to us. What weapons have the Indians left when even

these last have been snatched away from them? When the Indians ~~xxfxxx~~ have in these various manners been reduced to an effeminate condition, the Government should at least have pitied their con dition. Under these circumstances, Lord Minto observed that further legislation was necessary to control the liberty of the press. How fair! How just! It is time for the Indian editors to bid farewell to all journalistic enterprise. See what evils will ensue from this increased authority given to the Magistrates! If any one should maliciously bear a tale against any newspaper, it is the Magistrate who is to ~~xxxxxx-to-autherise the-poli~~ frame a charge against the paper. It the Magistrate who is to authorise the police to investigate the ~~xxxxxx~~ case. It is again the Magistrate who is to try the case and convict the accused. There is another thing even stranger about these laws. If newspapers should be guilty of any offence, the printer has to suffer punishment. The press is confiscated. Incitement to any "act of violence" is made punishable under the Act. But what is an "act of violence"? Breaking the glass? The expression "act of violence" is so pliant and elastic that any act can be brought under it. There is still so much to be said about the Explosives Act. But space does not permit us to dwell upon ~~xxx~~ it.

This article is followed by a translation of the ~~XXXX~~ ENGLISHMAN'S references to the latest issue of the YUGANTAR, together with the extracts therefrom reproduced by the ENGLISHMAN.

The insolence of Englishmen.

40. THE VEERAKESARI, of the 30th June, in a paragraph gives an account of the doings of two Englishmen who drove their dog-cart through the street in which a large number of poor people were being fed with thus spoiled the food that had been served them.

41. The VEERAKESARI, of the 30th June, says:--Mr.Tilak was arrested on a charge of sedition. There are few among Indians or foreigners equal to him in education and wisdom. Such a man was arrested by the irresponsible authorities. They think that the arrest of this great leader of the people would strike terror into the minds of the people. There can be no greater blow to Indian loyalty. The day on which Tilak was arrested silence reigned in the city of Poona, as in a plague-stricken place. Many of the shops were closed; there was no traffic anywhere. The Muhammadan and Marwari merchants closed their places of business as an expression of their sorrow. The Europeans were afraid to venture outside without being fully armed. How many more crises mother India has to pass through before she can regain her health!

The arrest of Tilak and how it was received by the people

43. SUMMARY. The BHARATA BHANDU, of the 20th June. Indians spellbound by the chain forged by the British Government. The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857 was the first attempt of the Indians to test its strength. It revealed the helplessness of Indians and showed that the chances of regaining their freedom were remote. The British also became doubtful about the durability of the chain, and attempted to strengthen it by the Royal proclamation. They succeeded in hyptonising Indians for a time. Lords Curzon, Morley and Minto demonstrated each in his way the delusory character of the Royal Proclamation, and were instrumental in dissilusionizing a section of Indian people. As a consequence of this, the people who understood the real character of the British rule are determined to establish SWARAJ, not by means of mendicant servility, but by independent efforts - SWADESHISM, BOYCOTT, and NATIONAL EDUCATION are the means adopted by them to achieve their object, under the leadership of TILAK, BEPIN CHANDRA PAL and Arabinda Ghose. Some ardent spirits engaged in the national

Exhorting the Indians to exert themselves for their own amelioration.

work ~~of-the-pee xx~~ broke loose from control and walked into danger to teach people to dare and die. Their Some-what activities retarded the progress of the new power but the motive force of passive resistence is undoubtedly strong enough to guide them safe to the Goal ~~Goalxxx xxxx~~

For the week ending 11th July 1908

No. 28 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

1. The HINDU, of the 7th July, publishes the following:--

The TINNEVELLEY SEDITON CASES.

"CHIDAMBARAM TRANSPORTED FOR LIFE.

"All those who had read the extraordinary summing up of the Special Sessions Judge to the assessors in the sedition case against Chidambaram Pillai, which we published yesterday, must have been prepared for the conviction which has followed, of the accused. But few would have expected to hear of so monstrous a sentence as is reported to have been inflicted upon him. . . "

The HINDU, of the 8th July, writes as follows:--". . . A Judge who draws upon his own powers of imagination for circumstances from which to derive the most damning proofs of guilt against an accused person before him, stands self-condemned. Mr.Pinhey justifies the enormity of his sentence also on the topsyturvy ground that Chidambaram Pillai is morally responsible, for all the lives lost in quelling the riots that ensued on his arrest. The speech, which is the subject of indictment against Chidambaram Pillai, was delivered on the 9th March. He was remanded to custody on the 12th March by an illegal order of the Magistrate in the course of the security proceedings. His unlawful detention in jail inflamed the mob in the Tinnevelly town on the 13th, who caused destruction of public buildings. In the course of that day, four people in the mob were shot dead by the European officers on the plea, it is said, of quelling

the rot, the justification for which has however not been made out. In the statement as an accused person made by Chidambaram Pillai, he charged the District Magistrate and ~~persons made~~ other officers present on the spot as having caused the death of the four persons. This injudicious statement has evidently ruffled the feelings of Mr.Pinhey, ~~has exhibite~~ the Sessions Judge, who, in speaking of Siva, says 'he had the grace not to make vile and baseless allegations against the District authorities.' Mr.Pinhey has exhibited a far from judicial or reasonable attitude when he holds Chidambaram Pillai responsible for the four lives that were lost on the 13th. On this point also, the prosecution did not set up the theory propounded by the Judge. In opening the case for the Crown, Mr.Powell expressly stated that 'it is not my case that the riots and the destruction of the property was the direct result of the speeches.' The Special Sessions Judge has, however, thought it his duty to improve in several respects upon the prosecution case as set forth by the Public Prosecutor. The Judge, even at an early stage of the case on the 8th June last in enlargement of the case for the prosecution, held that 'the riot seems to be the direct consequence of the speeches.' This was evidently necessary in the interests of the prosecution, for even the Public Prosecutor, who had by then awaken to the necessities of his situation, urged upon the Court that, 'the fact of these people having been in jail did not prevent them from having guided what took place. He desired to go into the matter of the riots, because it would influence the Court very considerably with regard to the sentence. In the Bombay case, the reason why the High Court reduced the sentence of transportation for life was that the country was quiet, that the article in question was published in a newspaper which very few people read, that it influenced no one and was not of much consequence. Therefore, the High Court reduced sentence in that case. In this case, Government had put forward in order that a deterrent sentence might be passed." In this, we see some daylight as to why the sentence of transporation of life was

passed upon Chidambaram pillai. The sentence may be what is called 'deterrent'. It may more fitly be called vindictive and tyrannical, and the public would, under all the circumstances, refuse to attach any moral weight to it. We must deal with the other questions arising for consideration in these cases in a subsequent issue."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 8th July, writes:--"We do not take seriously the savage sentences passed on the accused in the Tinnevelly sedition cases; for there is not the ghost of a chance of their being confirmed. Nevertheless the Judge, who is responsible for these sentences, has conferred a certain distinction upon himself as well as upon the accused. A case which would not have in ordinary circumstances attracted much attention outside India, will by reason of the sentence rouse the attention of the world, not certainly to the credit of the administration of justice in this country. As to the conviction itself, based as it is upon Police reports and Police testimony, there may be differences of opinion; but there will be no such difference as regards the sentences themselves. Exactly eleven years ago a Judge in Bombay made himself conspicuous by sentencing the editor of vernacular paper called PRATODA to transportation for life. That sentence so far shocked English feeling that Lord Goerge Hamilton, as Secretary of State for India, had to assuage it by assuring Parliament that the High Court would revise the sentence and the High Court eventually reduced it to one of twelve months' simple imprisonment. There the Judge had the excuse that nowhere else had a sedition case been tried, and that therefore, he had to use his unaided judgment. But here there is no such excuse, since there have been a number cases in which the highest courts have affirmed the standard of punishment. Moreover, the sedition with which the accused were charged is spoken sedition and not written; and there must therefore be certain deductions made as regards the degree of deliberations. However that may be, in considering the sentences it is impossible to overlook the extravagance of retribution which has

commended itself to the judicial commonsense of Mr.Pinhey . Two life sentences on one man is a peculiar conception of legal practicality unknown to the history of criminal justice; and the abettor being deemed more criminal than the principal is another novel feature introduced for the first time into criminal jurisprudence. Nor are these the only abdurdities which are deemed to have the sanction of law and commonsense. . . . "

The HINDU, of the 9th July, contains the following leader:- "It is we think, unfortunate, that the cases against Siva and Chidambaram Pillai being the very first ones under section 124-A which were launched by the Local Government in this Presidency, steps were not taken to have the same tried in the High Court. This could easily have been accomplished, in which case the public would have had the benefit of a trial conducted by a High Court Judge who may be expected to lay down the law in intelligible terms, and the accused would have had the benefit of a trial by a jury composed in India, x the Secretary of State Lord Morley seems to be of opinion that they are all tried with a jury. The fact that it is otherwise and that even in such grave cases as the present in which one of the accused has been awarded two sentences of transportation of for life that itxisxotherwisexand dddddddd and anotheer ten years' imprisonment, the constitution and PERSONNEL of the Court was solely determined by the local Government who had initiated the prosecution and were vigorously conducting it, are matters to be submitted to the consideration of Lord Morley and of the British public. In the HINDU, of the 5th May last, in a paragraph Mxx urging the appointment of an Indian to fill the acting vacancy caused by Mr.Justice Benson taking furlough, we referred to this subject in the following terms: 'We must refer here to a rumour, which we give for what it is worth, that a resolution has been come to some time since by the Local Government, that a European District Judge, who is to try the Tinnevelly sedition cases now awaiting committal to the Sessions, is to occupy, as soon as the trials are over, the temporary seat in the High Court Bench

vacated by Mr.Justice Benson. We hope that the report is entirely unfounded. The impropriety involved in placing a Judge, European or Indian, under such morally debilitating circumstances is very clear.' The appointment of Mr.Pinhey as Special Sessions Judge to try the sedition cases and his appointment as Acting Judge of the High Court were, however, both subsequent to the above date. Mr.Pinhey is a District and Sessions Judge of ~~xx~~ only a few years' standing. The larger portion of his service has ~~xp~~ been spent in the executive branch as Collector and Magistrate. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the course of summing up ~~x~~ to the assessors in the sedition case, he has delivered himself of several startling propositions of law and has shown in dealing with the facts of the case executive bias of a very pronounced kind. We do not mean to assert that the two accused before the Special Sessions Court were absolutely innocent of the charged laid against them. The proceedings in the Court make it clear to us that the accused have not had the advantage of such a fair trial as they were entitled to have. So far as the case against Chidambaram Pillai is concerned, it has arisen out of facts and circumstances which took their origin in the keen commercial competition and rivalry between the British India steam Navigation Company and the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company. It is an admitted fact that Chidambaram Pillai, who was the Assistant Secretary of the latter company, was largely instrumental in floating it and in carrying on a successful competition ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ with the rival European company. In promoting the success of the SWADESHI concern, he came into collision not only with the European agents belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Company, but also with the British local officers of Government. Any speeches ~~xx~~ which he delivered, of which only one delivered on the 9th March forms the subject of indictment against him have to be construed with reference to all the antecedent and surrounding circumstances and his principal avocation of life, which was to forward the interests of ~~his summing up:--'Mr.Sadagopa Chariar, vakil~~ the SWADESHI enterprise. The Sessions Judge Mr.Pinhey, puts this aspect of

the case in an extraordinary fashion in the following passage of his summing up: 'Mr.Sadagopa Chariar, vakil for Chidambaram Pillai, claimed that his client was an ardent apostle of industrial regeneration of the country and that he was xxxxxxxxx in terested in Dharma Sangam (weaving factory). He was also an important person in connection with the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company which was started about two years ago, chiefly by his own endeavours. There was something to be said on his behalf in this matter, It would appear that accused was a practical man concerned with industrial matters. But the question you should ask yourselves is: Do you think that his reference to industry and his doctrine of industrial regeneration is the end of the x means to an xx end? The question was whether he was trying to get the Government of this country upset and then have a native Government; was he using industrial regeneration as a cloak, or was he honestly working as he had stated in court for industrial regeneration? The case for the prosecution was that all this talk of industrial regeneration was a mere blind that his object was not to restore the industries of thic ountry, but to turn the white men out.' This theory of the prosecution, Mr.Pinhey unhesitatingly accepted as the basis of his judgment, although it is opposed to all the facts, probabilities and evidence in the case. That Chidambaram Pillai was working for the promotion of Indistrial objects was a fact proved and in the xxxxx great part admitted by the Judge, but it had to xxx x give way to a chimera in the brain xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xx whoever was responsible for the prosecution, that Chidambaram Pillai's object was to drive out white men from India. How according to the prosecution was Chidambaram Pillai going to execute his gigantic and drastic resolve? By addressing meetings composed of about five hundred people here and there in the district. It is difficult to understand how a Judge can have accepted such a theory. The commonsen view of the matter seems to be that, barring some indiscreet expressions which he may have used Chidambaram Pillai's object in addressing the meetings was to induce them to unite and labour

for industrial improvement of the country; irrespective of Government help and co-operation. This view of the case has not been disproved by anything appearing on the side of the prosecution, except some foolish and fantastic notions of Mr.Pinhey regarding the right of the people in the India to assemble at meetings and make speeches regarding their grievances. Mr.Pinhey has laid down in his summing up the following gems of political doctrine as applicable to India, and it is enough for us to set them down here for the delectation of our readers in India and in England.

"'Political speeches in this country were a novelty to him. There was no lawful occasion, so far as His Honour could see, for any man in this country to make a political speech. People in England had votes. In England, a political speaker made public speeches because the chances were that he was addressing his constituents to secure their votes. Therefore, a speaker in England might say that he was persuading his audience to exercise their constitutional power in his favour at some future time. There was no such thing as that in this country. The masses of Tuticorin and Tinnevelly had no vote. For instance, if they objected to the new Press Bill and wanted to get its provision altered, they could not get it altered by addressing a mob in the Tinnevelly river-bed. Therefore the chances were that when a speaker addressed an audience consisting of a mob in this country, he would be doing it only to persuade the crowd to exercise their physical power as human beings, and that was a dangerous thing.'

"It will be seen that this train of reasoning inevitably leads to the conclusion that Chidambaram Pillai by his speeches intended to persuade his audience to use force 'to drive white men out'.

"Mr.Powell (Public Prosecutor) said that the meeting called for in honour of a person convicted of sedition was not strictly a seditious act. In His Honour's opinion, it was a clearly seditious Act.

"'His Honour read section 124-A and the explanations and said that, for instance, if they disapproved of the new Press Bill, they could call a meeting of the educated people of Tinnevelly discuss it in their room, get a round robin and have it signed by those who disapproved it, and send it to their local Member of Council to have their grievance redressed.

"'When the word SWARAJ was uttered to people like these, what impression did they suppose it conveyed? Did they think that it meant to them self-government? Was there any word in an oriental language equivalent to our word "Government"? It might be that educated men like Mr.Sadagopa Chariar and Mr. Gokhale knew what Government meant. What did the cooly understand by Government? An ordinary native would understand what RAJ meant. It did not contain any idea regarding a constitutional, free Government. It meant the Raja, and the ordinary man would think that the Government of the British Circar would go away and that they were going to have their own Raja.'

"From the foregoing, it is clear that the sedition trials in Tinnevelly were not without some farcical elements."

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 10th July, publishes the following

"PRESS COMMENTS ON PINHEY'S JUDGMENT.

"Calcutta, July 9.

"Mr.Pinhey's judgment in the Tinnevelly sedition cases has simply staggered the Indian public. The Anglo-Indian press is discreetly silent, while the Bengali press unanimously condemns the sentence as ferocious and barbarous and unprecedented in its severity; for, never in the history of the British rule has a person accused of sedition been sentenced to such a punishment.

"THE BENGALEE'

"The BENGALEE says, 'The Sympathy that will be felt for Pillai by the community will be in exact proportion to his influence among them. Such sympathy as the public will spontaneously feel for them will not be due to their opinions, but to the ferocious, character of the sentences of which they have been the recipients. If the Judge has inflicted such heavy punishments

~~only-that-his-object-is-sure-to-be-defeat-d~~

only that they might serve asexamples ~~of~~ to his ~~xxx~~ brother Judges, one can assure ~~xx~~him that his object is sure to be defeated. Few British Judges even in India will further in the eyes of our people. One may perhaps go further and say that it is not every Judge who lacks the sense of proportion to the extent that Mr.Pinhey seems to do, nor is perhaps every Judge's reading of law so peculiar as that of his Judge."

"THE PATRIKA.

"The PATRIKA concludes a lengthy article thus: 'The wonder is not that a Judicial officer with such extraordinary notions would convict an ardent apostle of industrial regeneration of India and impose life-imprisonment upon him, but that the Madras Government would select him to try the Tinnevelly cases and bring such discredit upon British rule in this country. Now if double transportation for life be the lot of those who make attempts to improve the industrial condition of their country what, we wonder, might be the punishment for those who might really rise in arms against the British Government? And is such a humanity-staggering sentence calculated to strengthen or weaken the foundations of British rule in this country?"

The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 10th July, observes:-"The Calcutta papers comment freely on Mr-Pinhey's judgment in the Tinnevelly sedition cases. We are told that the sentence has staggered the Calcutta public. We do not know what the Calcutta public would think when they come to know that the same Mr.Pinhey has been appointed to act as a Judge of the Madras High Court."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Tilak's arrest.

4. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 6th July contains the following:--

"SORROW IN MADRAS.

"CHENNAI JANA MEETING.

"Under the auspices of the Chennai Jana Sangam, Triplicane, a public meeting was arranged and held yesterday at about

5 P.M. in the premises of the Sangam to express the sense of sorrow at the arrest of Mr.Bal Ganghadar Tilak. The first speaker, Mr.K.Venkataramana Rao, spoke at length on SWADESHISM, boycott and kindred subjects throughout, laying great stress on the necessity of boycottigg some of the belathix articles, notably clothes and some other things, and proceeded to explain to the audience the ways and means of attaining the goal of Indians. He insisted upon the doctrine of courage of conviction for the attainment of any object.

"The next speaker, who was greeted with loud cheers of VANDE MATARAM, was Mr.Subramania Bharati. With his usual eloquence he spoke at great length on the industrial gegeneration of our country and he exhorted the audience to pursue methods of boycotting foreign articles, specially cloths, and asked the audience not to lose heart owing to the obstacles that might be thtown in their war. He deplored the blunderx committed by the authorities by making another arrest in the person of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and said that such thing need not hinder our people from doing their duty to the country. The object of the meeting was to express keen sorrow at the arrest of Mr.Tilak and not criticise or create ill-feeling towards any one. Then Mr.Ettiraja Surendranath Arya rose amidst loud cheers 'of VANDE MATARAM(with his usual rigour spoke at great length and explained to the audience about Mr.Tilak's good qualities and also expressed that our country never produced such a great patriot. He exhorted the audience to work more assiduously for the country despite the obstacles. Surendranath Arya referred to our previous rulers as Sivaji, Ranjit Singh, Balaji Baji Rao, Nana Sahib and others and showed how they loved their country and how disinterestedly they worked for the country's good and also he appealed to his hearers to closely follow their example"

"After the speeches were over Mr.Subramania Bharati again came and informed the audience that they have received a letter from the owner of the Chennai Jana Sangam garden asking to vacate the bungalow stating that the owner required it for his own use.

Mr.Bharati appealed tothe assembly for funds in order to purchase a new ground and construct a small building to hold their future meeting without any inconvenience. Some of the liberal-minded people subscribed on the p spot some amound and also they promised that they would subscribe every month their mite."

5. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 10th July, publishes the following leader:-- "When the MADRAS TIMES excused itself for

A libel onthe Indian press.

not commenting on Mr.Pinhey's sentenees on the Tinnevelly accused, on the ground that there would be appeal, and when it further characterised two sentences of transporation for life on one of the accused as 'a grim jest of the law' we concluded thatit felt itself unable to defend the sentences. But it now appears that we did it more justice than it deserved; and that we were also mistaken in deducing any inference about our contemporary feeling from the fact of the sentence of transportation for life in a Bombay case having shocked English feeling. Wxex We apologise for both these mistakes whicha are ours, and for any any annyence we may have caused to our contemporary by our unwarranted charity in interpreting its feelings. We regret we are unable to do anything more than this; we regret we cannot modify our opinion to suit its own. That is what it demands in this morning's issue, and for not anticipating its wish to it permits itself to write the following gross and outrageous libel: 'Seditious writing has grown terribly during the last eleven years, until to-day in peaceful Madras, which is loyal to the core, among Indian papers, there is only the MUHAMMADAN which is on the side of good Government and order, and against the virulence of preachers of SWADESHI and SWARAJ.' We take it that our contemporary is prepared to stand by this statement and defend it. We make allowance for intemperate language used in the heat of partisan controversy; but even in partisan contro-

vergy it is impossible to pardon so deliberate and wanton an aggression on the reputation of others. It is a gross abuse of the liberty of the press to throw vile charges on people for mere difference of opinion. The MADRAS TIMES probably thinks that by reason of its privileged position as an Anglo-Indian newspaper, it can say anything against the Indian press, against those with whom it does not agree. But the law is not so great an 'hass' that it can be offended with impunity by any audacious scribbler.

6. The MADRAS STANDARD, of the 11th xxx July, writes:--

Campaign of abusex.

"Indian politicians and Indian newspapers, Moderate or Extremist, are now being vilified, in season and out of season, by certain Anglo-Indian papers with a virulence and persistence, which show how dangerous to peace and good understanding these prints are. Indians have been noted for their peaceful and law-abiding nature, and we wonder if any other country in the world a press in the hands of aliens would have been permitted with impunity to revel in such abuse of the people among whom they flourish. Ever since the Congress came into being certain Anglo-Indian papers have been pouring ridicule and scorn on it and have been latterly engaged in misrepresenting the motives of and generally libelling the educated classes. We ask whether such a systematic campaign of calumny would ever have been permitted in England by journals conducted by men who are not of the people and who are without any permanent stakes in the country. But in India this thing has been going on for a long time past. We do not of course demur to mere differences of opinion. We welcome discussion, Plain-speaking and honest criticism; and among the Anglo-Indian papers there are some which write, with a due sense of responsibility for the purpose of bringing out the truth. In the hands of well-bred xx Englishmen, who have intelligence and education enough to see into the true inwardness of things xxx and who, possessed of refined sentiments and high notions of self-respect and mutual

forbearance, have a regard for the feelings of others, these papers have held aloft the noblest and best traditions of British journalism. We are not referring to this section of the Anglo-Indian press. It is of the Anglo-Indian papers which, without any knowledge of the country, indulge in that sort of morbid sensationalism which is mistaken for clever journalism that we speak. When the history of the present unrest comes to be written it will be found that the mischievous activity of this section of the Anglo-Indian press is not a little responsible for it. Whether the situation justifies it or not, whether the facts warrant it or not, these journalistic revilers keep on abusing as if abuse were the onlythingx upon which they could afford to live.

"We appeal to the Government to do the needful in the matter. We also ask public men all over the country to take such action as they deem fit in order that the evil we have pointed out may at least be checked in its growth. We doubt not that in this task the respectable and responsible section of the Anglo-Indian press willx make common cause with us, for all are alike interested in restoring and maintaining good feeling and removing the causes of misunderstanding between classes and communities whose lot is cast in India and who are c citizens of the same Empire and subjects of the same august Sovereixgn."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The sedition cases in Tinnevelly.

9. Withx reference to the case of sedition against Messrs. Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th July, observes:--As we go to the Press we learn that Mr. Chidambaram Pillai has been sentenced to transporxtation for life. We never dreamt that such a severe sentence would be passed

on him. We also learn that Mr.Siva has been sentenced to transportation for ten years. This news is sure to spread a sorrowful gloom over the whole of India.

On the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th July, remarks:--The extreme penalty of the law has been inflicted on Srijut Chidambaram pillai, not because he committed such a heinous offence as to merit this punishment, but because Mr.Pinhey wanted to inflict such a punishment as would act as a deterrent to other people of this Presidency, in which sedition has not taken such a deep root as in the other Presidencies.

On the same subject, the DRAVIDA DIPAM, of the 8th July writes:--Let not the authorities think that the heavy punishment inflicted on Srijut Chidambaram Pillai will prevent the people from realising their grievances and working for the improvement of their trade. The patriotism of the Indians is growing more intense day by day and naturally they will not be terrified into giving up their attempts to improve their country by the mere fact that one of the hardest workers among them has been transported for life. This is clearly illustrated by the present flourishing condition of the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company. The only outcome of such inhuman punishments will be to open the eyes of even those who did not care for their country till now and to induce them to be up and doing for the sake of their motherland: because this was just what happened when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported. We hope that the High Court at least will take note of all this and alter the present sentence.

The judgment in the Tinnevelly sedition case.

10. In commenting on the judgment in the Tinnevelly sedition case, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th July, observes:--This judgment clearly illustrates how even the mind of a purely Judicial officer can be blinded by prejudice in these days. Mr.Pinhey holds that it is sedition even to convene meetings in Honour of convicted persons like Mr.Pal and Mr.Leakat Hussain. But we can say that as long as there are Judges like Mr.Pinhey,

the sympathy of the people towards convicted persons will only increase.

On the same subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th July writes:--The sentence in the Tinnevelly sedition case has staggered the whole of India. These sedition cases are an outcome of the eventful Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon who posed as the friend of India. But in no case has the punishment been so severe as the friend of India. ~~But in no case the punishment been so severe as in this~~. Mr.Tilak, who was prosecuted for sedition in 1897, was sentenced only to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. Even in subsequent cases the severest sentence till now is that of three years' rigorous imprisonment inflicted on the editor of the SWARAJYA. But Mr.Pinhey has over-reached the expectations of the people even in this respect, because the worse that was anticipated was rigorous imprisonment for some years. Even during the conduct of the case, the procedure adopted by Mr.Pinhey was extraordinary. He completely relied on the evidence of the Police, while he totally disbelieved that of many respectable witnesses for the defence. Perhaps it did not strike him that the Police shape their reports in accordance with the views of their officials and the Magistrates. If the OBITER DICTA in Mr.Pinhey's judgment are to be taken as law, the whole SWADESHI movement must at once cease to be. Further, he observed that any hostile sentiments expressed against non-official Englishmen should be taken to be disloyal expressions towards the Government. It is curious, indeed, to hold that it is disloyal to speak ill of any European who might have come to India, with an empty purse, to eke out his livelihood!

"Inhuman sentence."

11. Referring to the sentences passed by the Sessions Judge of Tinnevelly on Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai, the SASILEKHA, of the 10th July, observes:--"These two persons are not editors of newspapers, nor did they propagate sedition by

writing articles in newspapers,xxx The lectures they delivered evaporatded in the air. They have not inflicted any lasting injury. Moreover, the evidence of the Police alone was relied on to prove that they uttered seditious expressions, and the Judge rejected the defence evidence as worthless. The Judge mentioned in the judgment not only the facts proved by evidence but also a few other inci~~tements~~dents. In the course of his argument, Mr.E.B. Powell, the Public Prosecutor, said that 'Mr.Dadabhai Naoroji was preaching sedition to the people'. If so, why was he not punished for it? The Judge said that it was sedition to try to show honour to persons like Mr.Pal and Mr.Leakat Hussain when they were released from jail. ~~Like Mr.Pal and Mr.Leakat Hussain when they were released fro~~ He added that Pillai prepared the statement of Siva when they were both in jail and that Siva had been a tool in the hands of Chidambaram.

Even under the present circumstances, there is nok trouble whatever from the civilians, engineers, doctors and teachers in the service of the Government. It is the English merchants, planters and editors of newspapers who come down to our country, unable to eke out a livelihood in their native land, that are a source of evil to us. The Government must not espouse their cause and proceed against us. Since our countrymen began to successfully take part in the trade of India to some extent, a conflict has arisen between the non-official Europeans and ourselves. The Government must understand that this conflict has no connection whatever with sedition. We were glad to hear from eminent lawyers that the sentence passed on Chidambaram Pillai would be quashed in the High Court. It is only those who are engaged in a great work that meet with great difficulties. Whatever calamity may happen to Mr.Pillai, we believe that he will be honoured as a patriot so long as the SWADESHI Steam Navigation Company exists in Tinnevelly."

12. The QASIM-UL-AKHBAR, of the 6th July, has the following in English:--The first fruit of the well-known Muhammadan deputation ~~of~~ to the Viceroy in the beginning of the year last was the appointment of Mr.Sharafuddin of Behar as the Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta. The elevation of Mr.Karamath Hussain to the Bench of the High Court of Allahabad was next followed as a matter of course. Now we are doubly indebted to His Excellency Lord Minto to a third appointment of Mr.Abdur Rahim of the Calcutta Bar to the Puisne Judgeship in the High Court of Madras.

Appointment of a Muhammadan Judge for the Madras High Court.

The reply given by the Head of the Government of India to the deputation headed by His Highness the Agha Khan of Bombay will never be effaced from our minds, and the loyalty displayed by our community from different quarters when the sea of Indian politics is troubled by bloodshed and outrage is only a token of their determination to follow in the footsteps of their great leader the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

The Bombay High Court long represented by a Muslim Judge remains without a representative of that community whose intricate questions of Muhammadan law can be done full justice only by a shrewd Arabic scholar. There is no dearth of Muhammadan Barristers at Lahore and Rangoon, and we see no reason why other Chief Courts have not got Muslim Judges. We are confident these matters will not escape the attention of Lord Minto when a fit opportunity presents itself.

As regards Mysore we can only say that no Muhammadan Judge was ever appointed to the Bench of the Chief Court. We do not know whether local justice has anything to do in this important matter, but it is certain that Muslims are not properly represented in the Judicial department of the State. There are one or two Muhammadan Law graduates in the State who, we hope, will in due course of time be elevated to high judicial posts. Perhaps Government is not in the mood to import Muslim Barristers from neighbouring British provinces. The Supreme Government has set an example importing competent men from other provinces.

(k) General.

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th July, observes:--In replying to a question on the Press Act recently passed, Lord Morley stated that he had asked the Provincial Governments to intimate to him, then and there, the proceedings taken by them under this Act and that he would in due course place the information before the Parliament. We cannot understand what good will come out of this. When the editor of a paper has been punished and the Press confiscated, with either Lord Morley or the Parliament veto the act of the Court? Even if they do it, how can it compensate the proprietors of the paper for the loss they had sustained? But anyhow, these hasty measures are not to be repealed. Even if they are not repealed, it may not affect the freedom of the Press so much, if they are used only when necessary. It is regrettable that the British statesmen who have been advocating a repressive policy to remove the present feeling of discontent in the country, are not very anxious to remove the causes that have led to it. The reforms, of which ~~must~~ much was said by Lord Morley on his assumption of office, are yet to come. We will only echo the view of Mr.Dutt that it is nothing but a radical reform of the administration of India that will effectually allay the present feeling of discontent among the people. Delay will only savour of bad statesmanship at this juncture.

"Delay only savours of bad statesmanship."

18. With reference to the arrest of Mr.Tilak for sedition, the KESARI, of the 1st July, remarks:--Already the arrest of Srijut Aravinda Ghosh has sent a thrill through the whole of Bengal and the sedition case against Messrs.Chidambaram Pillai and Siva has spread a gloom throughout the Southern Presidency. The events of Cocanada are still rankling in the minds of the people of the Northern district of this Presidency and the Punjab has not yet forgotten the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and

The arrest of Mr.Tilak.

Sirdar Ajit Singh and the incarceration of Messrs.Jaswant Rai and Athavale just at this jucture, when every portion of India is seething with discontent, the action of the Government of Bombay in arresting Mr.Tilak is sure to shake the whole of India to the very bottom. Mr.Tilak is no ordinary man. His name is respected all over the world and he is regarded as a leader by all the thirty crores of the Indians. So it is, quite natural that the Indians, EN MASSE, are agrrieved at the arrest of this saint. But really we need not all grieve over his incarceration; because, everything good came out of even the absolute Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. The SWADESHI movement and the thirst for SWARAJ are both the outcome only of the repressive measures of our Government. Even so the arrest of our leader, though at present very painful, will eventually lead to some good result.

"Why should not the native newspapers be stopped?"

19. Referring to the passage in the KESARI, for publishing which Mr.Tilak has been charged with sedition, the NAVAYUGA, of the 2nd July, observes:--"It is not possible to see how far it is seditious. It is not in itself sedition to say that despotic measures of officials prompted the people to make use of bombs or that the administrative policy of the Government is mischievous. If a severe denunciation of the administrative policy were regarded as sedition, every Indian including Dadabhai Naoroji, will have to be regarded as a seditionist. The PYSA AKBAR, a Muhammadan newspaper writes:--'According to the new Act, the word "incitement" is too comprehensive. Suppose a European killed a native and suppose also that he escaped unpunished. If an Indian paper publishes these facts in detail, it amounts to an offence. The Government may not generally mind all these things, but there may be many possibilities of injustice being done at any moment in connection with this matter. Journalism is already attended with much danger. Hereafter it will prove ruinous.'

"Under these circumstances, the editors of Indian papers have to perform their duties with their heads in the noose of the executioner. However good-intentioned their writings may be, they may be construed differently by the officials, The Anglo-Indian papers alone would never commit this offence in their view. A greater number of them spend their time in viligying the natives. They may write extravagant articles inciting their own people to any degree. If the Indian papers write similarly, 'the result would be soon felt'. We have to suppose that the thunderbolt like Acts of the Government are passed specially for the Indians. For, while commenting on the Kankinara bomb outrage, the ENGLISHMAN hinted that it was committed by the anarchists and that the Europeans also would try to prepetrate bomb outrages to teach a lesson to the natives. If a native paper wrote a similar article, the new Act would have been applied at once.

"The real attitude of the Government towards the Indian papers is not known. Do the Government not like that these papers should live possessing 'freedom of speech'? If they like it, the Sedition Act must be amended and its object clearly set forth. If the Indian papers are really a bar to good Government, it is proper to suppress them by any new Acts. We know that the new Act is injurious to the Government as well. But if these papers are stopped for at least six months, we may see what the effect thereof will be."

"The keystone of national life in India."

20. The NAVAYUGA, of the 2nd June, writes:--"The national spirit is gradually developing into a religion. There are workings and indications towards that direction. In some places the old symbols of worship are undergoing changes to suit the new movement. In Bengal, Kali and other goddesses represent the mother India and the national spirit. In some places new idols are set up. Idols representing mother India and Raja Rajeswari

(a form of Parvati) are being introduced. This idea is manifesting itself in the works of art. The Government cannot comprehend the inner spirit of the political movements of the people. What is seen by the Government is the confusion and the religious frenzy among them. They cannot realise the underlying spirit. They were only able to note the spirit that converted the timid Bengali into a terrible being. This is all what the Legal Member of the Government of India could see. It is clear, therefore, that our present Government are incapable of understanding our national strength and the power of our civilization. It is pitiable that our Government are incapable of realising that their mission is to rule overus. For, had they possessed that knowledge, many of the difficulties which have faced both the rulers and the ruled would not have come into existence."

"What must be done?"

21. The ANDHRAKESARI of the 3rd July, observes:--"Note the opinion of Mr.Bhupendranath Dutt, once the editor of the YUGANTAR, expressed after his release from jail to the representative of the BANDE MATARAM, namely, that one ought not to waste one's strength by undergoing incarceration for disregarding the sedition laws, although the Jail authorities in Calcutta or Bhagalpur might treat the prisoners kindly. The meaning of this seems to be that the Bengali, like the other people, possesses righteousness and courage and that, owing to the failure of the Press prosecutions last year, the passive resistance set up him (Bhupendranath) was successful and that therefore sedition laws need not any longer be disobeyed. So, Oh countrymen! What is it that we have to do now? What does our mother country expect of us? We are bound to discharge our debt to her, to the best of our energy and skill, by unselfishly and untiringly disseminating education among the masses and by appointing specially qualified persons for performing that which tends to the welfare of the country. This great mission can be openly but calmly and silently accomplished without secrecy."

23. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 5th July, writes:--"Even after 150 years of the English rule, Lord Minto said that the English were not able to tear the purdah concealing India'. Can there be a more helpless situation? Is there a more sorry plight? Although the English have been knocking at the doors of India for 150 years, they have not been opened. It is not possible to sound the depth of the Indian's life.' How can the English, the inhabitants of a small island, know about a vast continent like India? It is unlikely that the Westerners, who have grown dull by eating beef and drinking poisonous intoxicating liquors, would be able to i understand the ideas of the Indians who are the descendants of Rishis (holy sages). How can the foreigners, who are blinded by race-hatred, understand the feelings of the Indians lurking in their hearts? It is only when the Westerners can realise that their strength consists not in their men of war, not in their magazines, not in their forts, not in their manufactories, but in their spiritual laws which guide their inner lives, and when they can realise the fact that their future is blended with the onward universal progress of man and when they can see that the Oriental people ought to occupy the place of spiritual teachers to the world, without being slaves to the Westerners, that the purdah hiding India xxx will roll itself up."

"The Indian purdah".

24. The NAVAYUGA, of the 9th July, writes:--"At the recent Civil Service dinner, Lord Morley said:--"If we do not somehow or other satisfy their (Indians) aspirations and bring about peace, the fault is ours and not theirs." This statement reveals his political insight. But neither Advisory Councils nor other reforms satisfy our aspirations, mx,xkkeyx nay, they are prejudicial to them. Moreover, there is no chance of satisfying them all at once. As they are satisfied piece-meal they increase. For, theres is no limit even for lawful aspirations. In a properly constituted kingdom, there must be scope for the employ-

"Lord Morley on the Indian problem."

ment of all the capabilities of the people, including valour. We wish that our countrymen should be on a par with the citizens in other countries."

IV. NATIVE STATES.

Employment of Europeans in the Hyderabad State.

26. The MUKHBIR-E-DAKHAN, of the 8th July, in condemning the policy of the employment of Europeans in the Native State of Hyderabad, makes the following observations:--"Attention has frequently been drawn to the evils emanating from the employment of Europeans in Hyderabad and from their intervention in the internal affairs of the State. From an administrative point of view the policy of the employment of Europeans in Hyderabad will in no wise be considered good. It is a self-evident truth that Englishmen are neither friendly disposed towards the natives, nor they have any sympathy with them. Not only the morals, mode of living habits and customs of Englishmen are different from those of the natives. The treatment accorded by some British and Anglo-Indian officers to natives clearly indicates their hatred towards the natives. ~~byxEngxishmenxxxIndix~~ The present troubles in India nodoubt are due to the improper treatment of natives by Englishmen. Under these circumstances it is unsafe and impolitic to employ British officers in Native States. If the rumour now afloat in Hyderabad that more British officers will shortly be appointed to the different departments of Hyderabad has any iota of truth in it, then we feel it our duty to point out to His Highness the Nizams' Government that their employment in Hyderabad will involve the State in heavy expenditure and to suggest that no extensions should be granted to the present British officers employed in the State."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Lord Morley and his statesmanship

28. The INDIA, of the 4th July, writes:--In the course of his speech during the dinner at the Civil Service Club in London, Lord Morley observed that it was useless for the Government of India to continue their repressive policy for ever, as he had known many Governments in Europe having tried to rule their subjects with an iron hand and having come to grief in that attempt. Though he has expressed like this, he has been passing nothing but repressive measures within the last two and-a-half years that he has been in office. He prides himself by saying that British statesmanship has never failed ~~in his own case~~ till now.

473 No doubt it is not natural for one to see one's own faults.

We should care for the views and not the body of Mr.Tilak.

29. The INDIA, of the 4th July, says:--On the day on which Mr.Tilak was committed to the Sessions, a big crowd seems to have assembled outside the court-house and a Bengali preacher seems to have said; "When we are so many of us here, we should not allow the Police to take away Mr.Tilak." But this should not be our argument now. The view of Mr.Tilak himself was that we should achieve our object only by the method of passive resistance. So we should follow the example of Mr.Tilak and put up with all the troubles and sufferings we may have to undergo in the middle, with the one idea of reaching our grand goal of national independence. The foreign officials may deal with the body of Mr.Tilak most cruelly; but his glorious spirit cannot be kept in bondage. It cannot be subjected to any harm at the hands of man. So we should give up wailing for his bodily suffering and work in a way which will gladden his soul.

A blind belief.

30. The INDIA, of the 4th July, writes:--One year back there was a blind belief among both the Indians and the Europeans that

the prevailing feeling in the country was one of discontent caused by the partition of Bengal. Though the former have now abandoned this idea, the latter seem to cling to it still- But the feeling with which the Indians are now imbued can better be described as a "desire for liberty" than "discontent"; and this thirst for liberty cannot be quenched by merely cancelling the partition of Bengal but only by granting SWARAJ to the people. This does not seem to have been realised by even the ablest of the British statesmen. They have been repeating, ever and anon, that the partition of Bengal is the cause of the present unrest in India. Even Lord Curzon, who was the author of this partition, tried to throw the whole responsibility of the measure upon Lord Ampthill, merely to justify his previous statement that it was the cause of the present unrest. But Lord Ampthill at once disclaimed all responsibility on that head. It is these irresponsible people that expect to rule the thirty crores of Indians for ever with an iron hand!

32. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th July, writes:--

Lord Morley and Lord Curzon.

Though Lord Morley has not done any positive good to us within the two and-a-half years he has been in office, he has at least been consistently expressing from the beginning that the Indian administration must be reformed without delay. Both this gentleman and Lord Curzon agree in holding that the nature of the education imparted at present, the effect on the minds of the Indians of the victory of Japan over Russia and the distrust of the Europeans by the Indians have led to the present unrest in India. But they differ in their views as to the ways by which the present unrest can be removed Lord Curzon is for measures which will have a tendency to curtail the rights of the Indians still more and ~~which will have a tende which will have a tendency to~~ which will savour of the Russian methods of administration. But fortunately for India, there is no chance of this

nobleman getting into any responsible position in the Government of India; because one who was once the Viceroy of India is never made the Secretary of State for India. As for his becoming the Prime Minister, it must be a long way off and before this India will come to such a position that even men like Lord Curzon will find it difficult to retard her progress. But the speech of Lord Morley, in reply to the proposition of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords, clearly shows that there has been and is still a tone of sympathy in his heart towards the Indians, and one who is kind towards his charge at least in words is surely for better than one who vilifies it both in talk and in deed.

The present unrest and the English education.

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th July, says:--Recently Lord Curzon, while speaking in the House of Lords, observed that the nature of the education imparted by the Government was one of the causes of the present unrest in India, and Lord Morley did not controvert this statement. It is not only Lord Curzon but the whole of the Anglo-Indian community that are of this opinion. These think that the British committed a fault in having given English education to the Indians. But we have often pointed out that the British Government cannot be carried on without giving an English education to the Indians. If the people do not understand English, the Englishmen must learn the Indian vernaculars and these are too many for the Englishmen to master. So the people must learn the English language as long as the British continue to rule over India. Once the Indians are given an English education, it will not be possible to insist on their stricking to certain books and avoiding those of able authors like Burke, Gladstone, etc. So they are not wise who state that the English education is the cause of the present unrest. Do the Persians learn the English language? Have the Egyptians learnt English? And yet are these not fighting hard for their liberty?

On this view, if unrest is to be completely absent, the people must all be a set of idiots; because any kind of education will make them realise their position when compared with that of any other people of the world, and this will naturally wk lend to discontent on their part. There fore it is not preventing the Indians from having English education, but allowing them to share the responsibility of the Government that will effectively remove the present unrest.

The SWARAJ case.

35. Referring to the arrest of one Shanthi Narain, the proprietor of the SWARAJ (an Allahabad newspaper) on a charge of sedition, the NADEGANNADI, of the 4th July, observes that when some of the accused's friends told him while he was in the xx custody of the Police that they would try to release him on bail and engage counsel for his defence, the accused replied that they need not take that trouble as he did not believe that the authorities would do him justice in that case and that he was quite prepared to suffer any punishment in the cause of the country.

Fresh charges against Tilak.

36. Referring to the application for release on bail to the High Court on behalf of Mr. Tilak, the NADEGANNADI, of the 4th July, reports that there is a rumour that if the High Court should grant him bail, the Police are in readiness to rearrest him on a fresh charge. The paper remarks:--What have the Government to fear when the approver Narendra Nath Gosain in the Calcutta (bomb) cases is bringing most wonderful facts to light to suit the convenience (of the Police) to bring charges a&xx after charges?

38. Writing about His Excellency Sir George Clarke in a highly eulogizing manner, the MYSORE STAR, of the 6th July, says

The present situation.

that in his able and instructive speech the other day in Legislative Council, His Excellency has set a noble example to all officials of his own class--the Anglo-Indians. If the other Anglo-Indians had followed the policy which His Excellency has indicated, the situation would never have been what it is. His Excellency observed that the Government and the public should work work in hand in hand in destroying the evil and destructive forces that are at work in some corners. There can be no doubt that the European officials have been holding just the same unfriendly and contemptuous attitude towards the Indians in the North as the Brahmans are holding towards the lower classes in the South. The more enlightened leaders of the public have at all times been trying to remove the estrangement of feeling that has been caused by this haughty bearing of the European officials generally. It is true that there are some firebrands here and there who misjudging their own strength and position resort to mischievous methods like the wanton lad who, pelting stones at the beehive on the roadside, amuses himself in seeing the wayfarers disturbed. Thus those hot-headed Anglo-Indians and these incendiaries among the people are responsible for the present disturbances. His Excellency also observed that while honest criticisms from the public will at all times be welcomed, it is dangerous both for the Government and the public to allow evil and destructive forces to grow. There cannot be two opinions on this point. The relations between the Government and the public are very much like those between father and son. So long as the injury done by a son to his father is slight and the result of ignorance, the father will not take it ill. But when the son deliberately aims at the life of his father out of selfish motives, the father will no longer tolerate his mischieous conduct. The new laws were made only in order to punish such undutiful persons. There is no Government in the world which al-

lows the spread of any movement designed to subvert law and order. The past history of India shows that cruel and arbitrary methods were resorted to xix in order to crush such evil forces. When the Brhamans were in power, they were most severe and unscrupulous under similar circumstances. There can be no wonder then if an alien Government should be as severe. As Lord Minto observed there is nothing to prevent the Government of India from adopting purely arbitrary methods in such cases; but they are fully aware that such a procedure is not warranted by the present situation. We cannot be too grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy, for the sympathetic policy he is pursuing. Many of the evil aspects of the situation have disappeared because, in place of the hot-headed persons like Lord Curzon, we have wise and generous statesmen like Lord Minto and Sir George Clarke at the head of the Government. All those newspapers who were engaged in raising storm of sedition have already their tone and assumed a more layal attitude. The EMPIREDAY and the BIRTHDAY celebrations were attended with greater pomp and magnificence this year than last year. It is easy to understand the reason of this remarkable change in the attitude of the people.

For the week ending 18th July 1908.

No 29 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The sedition cases.

1. The HINDU, of the 13th July, writes as follows:--"We publish elsewhere the order of the First-class SubDivisional Magistrat of Erode committing Krishnaswami Sarma to the Sessions to take his trial for offences under sections 124-A and 153-A. The offences are stated to have been committed in lectures delivered in Karur between the 16th and 20th March last. Certain passages in the speeches alleged to have been delivered on the 16th

and 17th March have been cited in the committal order as calculated to excite disaffection. In regard to the speeches alleged to have been delivered on the 18th and 20th March, the Magistrate observes as follows:-

"'I have not been able to find much of objectionable matter in these. There are many passages in them in favour of the accused showing that his main object was to foster home industries and obtain SWARAJ thereby and not by use of force. When I asked the Public Prosecutor his object in filing these, he explained that he did not want to suppress any that was in the accused's favour.'

"The Magistrate, however, thinks that a PRIMA FACIE case has been made out against the accused, and observed in conclusion:-

"'It need not be pointed out that it is unnecessary to show that any disaffection has actually been caused to bring the accused's utterances under section 124-A. That they fell on a barren soil and that nobody took any notice of them is due to the fact that the people inhabiting this part of the country are not merely mild Hindus but the mildest of the lot. All the same the accused did what he--an effeminate boy of no consequence or influence--could to excite disaffection'.

"The result is that accused, who is a youth of eighteen and is 'an effeminate boy of no consequence or influence', has been committed to take his trial in the Court of Session for sedition. Some of the speeches which he delivered, and which with much fairness the Public Prosecutor filed in the case, show that they contained statements showing that his object was to encourage home industries. Two others were not susceptible of such a favourable interpretation, but the Magistrate finds them to have fallen on 'barren soil' and 'nobody took any notice of them'. Is this a case in which the Local Government should have instituted a prosecution? It is like using the Nasymyth hammer to crack a nut. The provision in section 124-A, which requires that the sanction of the Government should be obtained, is intended to ensure a safeguard that unnecessary and undesirable prosecutions will not be started under a drastic law. We are not sure that before starting such prosecutions, the responsible authorities correctly ascertain the facts and apply the correct law to them.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

"The police rule."

2. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th July, writes:--Lord Morley said that the Government of India must not be despotic but his opinion has not been acted upon. To speak the truth, the police alone are carrying on the administration, having assumed despotic power. Else, what is the meaning of the police searching the houses of respectable and leading gentlemen in Bengal believing, as gospel truth, the statement of insignificant persons that stolen property was there. The palace of Raja Subodh Chunder Mullick was searched on suspicion that the jewels recently stolen in Dacca were there; but nothing was found therein. Mr.Panchanana Tarkaratnam, a Professor of the Sanskrit College at Bhaptura, was arrested along with six others on the suspicion that they were involved in the Kankinara bomb outrage. When their houses were searched, nothing relating to the bombs was found excepting only a few pebbles that had no connection with bombs. Narendranath Gossain, the approver in the Manicktolla bomb case, implicated one Santi Ghose in the bomb outrages. But the police arrested one Santi Dutt in his stead, though he declared he was Santi Dutt and not Santi Ghose. Even after the approver declared that Santi dutt was not the person he had referred to, the latter was not released. The uncle of Santi Dutt, Snatoshkay, was arrested as some chemicals were found in his possession, in which the police "smelt bombs", in spite of his asurance that they were intended for photographic purposes. The house of Mr.Krishna Kumar Datta, the editor of the SANJIBANI, was searched and some papers were found that were connected with the case of Aravinda Ghosh. It might be guessed what punishments the Government would have inflicted upon the people if they had done the acts that are being done now by the Police. If the ZOOLUM of the police is not checked it will go beyond limit and result in difficulties both to the rulers and the ruled.

(b) Courts.

3. With reference to the trial and conviction of Messrs.

The Tinnevelly sedition case.

Chidambaram Pillai and Siva in Tinnevelly, the INDIAN, of the 11th July, remarks:--We have been closely watching the conduct of this case from start to finish and we are strongly convinced that this trial was nothing but a farce. It is clear from the evidence adduced in the case that the notes of the speeches alleged to have been taken by the police are false and incorrect and yet Mr.Pinhey relied only on these notes and came to the conclusion that Srijat Chidambaram Pillai was guilty before even hearing the counsel on either side. Again the tone of his summing up the case to the jury seemed as if he instructed them to return a verdict of guilty. The observations of this Judge in the course of his summing up are curious indeed! In one place he says "To convene a meeting in Honour of the release of an offender like Mr.Pal, is itself sedition", After all, the judges, who punished Mr.Pal and others are only men, and so they are liable to err. So, how will it be an offence to point out to the public an error committed by a Judge? In another place Mr.Pinhey gives a strange interpretation of the term SWARAJ. This is a word that has come to us from Northern India, and there it means nothing but self-government." But this Judge, who knows nothing of Northern India, interprets RAJ to mean "king" and so makes "SWARAJ" mean "Our own king". Is there anything more ludicrous than this? These people get provoked if we point out that men who know nothing about our country have come to rule over us and yet numerous are instances of persons like Mr.Pinhey. This scholar thinks that there is no synonym in the vernaculars for the English word "government"! This gentleman has been appointed as a High Court Judge and we think it is really unfortunate that such a kind and intelligent Judge should sit on the High Court Bench!

The NADEGANNDI, of the 11th July, says:--Chidambaram Pillai and Subramanya Siva are two great patriots who were advocating SWADESHISM and advising the people to encourage indigenous industries. They were therefore highly esteemed by the public. The

Government~~or~~ prosecuted them for sedition and sentenced them to transportation for life. British justice has thus been degraded to the level of arresting and oppressing of simple and honest persons. It is difficult to say how far loyalty will be promoted among the people of respectable and self-sacrificing patriots a should be put in jail. It is impossible to say when the present (political) troubles would disappear and the country again enjoy perfect peace.

Mr.Pinhey's judgment in the Tinnevelly case.

4. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th July, writes:--If Mr. Pinhey's definition of sedition is to be taken as law, the Indians can never hope to talk of politics. Mr.Pinhey himself says that there can be no lawful occasion for the people of India to talk of politics. He argues that, not being the electors of their Government as in England, the Indians cannot expect their voice to have any influence on the conduct of the Government in India, and so their only motive in preaching to the people ~~of the Government in India, and so their only motive~~ about the Politics must be to instigate them to use physical force against the authorities of the Government. The very fact that Mr.Pinhey holds this view clearly establishes that he has not at all gauged the present condition of this country. Till now many have been the occasions on which crowds have been addressed and have the people used physical force against the Government on any once of these occasions? How are the people to know about the conduct of the Government, unless it be by public preaching? If the people do not understand the ways of the Government, they are said to be incapable of exercising the elective franchise, which may be granted to them; and if they, with a view to understand them, hold public meetings, they are said to be guilty of sedition. When a Government is like this, how are the people to learn the rights and duties of citizenship?

Mr.Pinhey has also had his own say with regard to SWADESHI and "Boycott." He says that when the doctrine of boycott was

placed before the masses, these would not stop with the letter of the doctrine. But practical experience shows that this opinion is groundless. Again he scents sedition in the advice to boycott the law courts. We are at a loss to comprehend this. The very fact that panchayats have been legally recognised clearly shows that the Government itself is of opinion that the people should be discouraged from going to law courts often. So how can there be sedition in repeating an advice favoured by the Government?

On the same subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th July, continues:--Mr.Pinhey observed that the conviction of a man is not merely to punish him but also to deter other people from committing the same crime, and justified his punishment of Chidambaram Pillai on this view. But we are sure that such harsh sentences on men respected by the public can never help the attainment of this object. The people have now lost all sense of indignity attaching to imprisonment and are not at all afraid of it as in former times. Mr.Siva remarked that he felt it an honour to go to prison. Is not this new view the result of the wanton punishment of many respectable persons in Calcutta, Bombay and Punjab and other places? Mr.Chidambaram Pillai, is honoured not only by the men of his province but by the whole of India and Mr. Pinhey's infliction of such a harsh sentence, upon him will only accelerate the removal of the fear, the people used to entertain, of prison, instead of enhancing it. Is such conduct correct, or statesmanlike, or even lawful? Moreover, the Judge took into consideration many facts not warranted by the evidence adduced before the Court and based his conclusion upon these, so much so that the conviction of Mr.Chidambaram Pillai was actually based not merely on the seditious words used by him but on many irrelevant ideas and opinions imported into the case by the Judge. Perhaps Mr.Chidambaram Pillai would have been given a lighter punishment if he had nothing to do with the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, the strike at the Coral Mills and the preachings about the growth of the industries in general! Is this also justice?

The editor of the KAL was a patriot and was also guilty of sedition and he got 19 months' p imprisonment for it; Mr.Chidambaram Pillai was only a patriot and for this he has got transportation for life! What a difference!

(d) Education

The effects of higher education in India.

5. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 15th July, observes that quite an erroneous notion prevails in the minds of certain Anglo-Indians that higher education has produced disastrous resulits in India. Although higher education has in all countries led to political agitation, it must be admitted that such agitation never caused any greaat anxiety when the agitators belonged to the same class as the rulers themselves. But when a handful of foreigners are governing a vast nation, it is natural enough for the rulers to fear that their power in the land might be shaken by such agitation. With India, however, the case is different. The British Government have such various and infinite resources at their back that it is possible for them to wipe out of existence the 300 millions in India ~~ax~~ in a single minute. Under these circumstances, it is never right to stifle the voice of the people in ~~the~~ a high-handed manner when they offer honest criticisms against the Government with a view to remove the shortcomings in the administration.

(k) General.

The present repressive policy cannot raise the purdah between the rulers and the ruled

7. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th July, writes:--Our readers may remember that Lord Minto, while passing the Press Act and the Explosives Act through the Legislature, observed that a purdah hid the feelings and aspirations of the Indians from his view and it was not possible for him to remove it. The worry of the police has increased much after that. They have been empowered to search the house of whomsoever

they might suspect and they have begun to dog the footsteps of every one who, they think as anything to do with SWADESHI. We learn that in Poona even female detectives are hovering about the houses of the people. The other day, one of these detectives entered the house of ~~tk~~ a leading Indian Barrister and asked his daughter how much her father had subscribed for the Aravinda Ghosh relief fund. When the father heard this, he at once ordered her to be driven out saying, "I have paid Rs.2,000." On this the detective appears to have remarked. "You will soon have cause to repent for this act of yours and for your zeal in the cause of SWADESHI and industrial education." Thus even the senana has now become the haunt of the police. So the authorities need not be hereafter anxious that a purdah is hiding the feelings and aspirations of the Indians from their view, because these actions will only perpetuate the existence of such a purdah and not remove it.

The committee to consider the proposed reforms in the Indian administration.

8. The SWADESAMITRAAN, of the 16th July, observed:--In accordance with the statement made by Sir Andrew Fraser in the Bengal Legislative Council that the reforms of Lord Morley would not be delayed in the least by the rash acts of some disloyal Indians, we learn that a Committee composed ~~about~~ of some of the members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council is considering about the nature of the reforms to be introduced. The members of this committee are Sir Harvey Adamson, Mr.E.Richards, Mr.Miller, Mr.Harvy and Mr.Meston. Thus there is neither any non-official Anglo-Indians nor any Indian on this committee. Is it not necessary that at least one Indian should should be on a committee which is to consider ~~an~~ an important subject like the proposed reforms in the Indian administration? Even if the Government did not like to nominate any non-official to sit on ~~th~~ this committee could it not have given an Indian Member of the Legislative Council a seat on it?

9. A correspondent of the SURYODAYAM, of the 21st and 28th June, observes:--The events of 1907 clearly show that an open struggle has begun in India between the Indians and their English rulers. The aim of the Indians evidently appears to be to get out of the cruel rule of the Englishmen. Is this a very difficult task? It is time we begin to realise how our brethren are treated by the English. A book has been published by a Frenchman named Priow, a schoolmaster, about the atrocities committed in India and ~~are treated by the English.~~--A from this we understand that though the revenue of India is acquired by the daily bodily labour of the thirty crores of Indians, the majority of these are made to famish for want of good, while the few English officials live grandly on fat salaries. Alas! What cruelty on the part of the English to cut the very hand that gives them food!

The cruel rule of the English men.

The same correspondent continues in the SURYODAYAM, of the 5th July, as follows:-- The eyes of a visitor to England are dazzled by the wealth of the country; but where has all this wealth come from? These Englishmen rob the Indians of every pie earned by them by the sweat of their labour, cruelly leaving the sons of India to become the victims of countless famines. It is the wealth acquired thus that shows off the Englishman now.

11. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th July, writes:--"Lord Krishna taught Arjuna who was dejected and discouraged in the Kurukshetra (the scene of the Mahabharata war) not to feel sorrow. The same was the burden of Buddha's teachings. In the present hour, when the whole country is in agitation, the holy expression 'Do not grieve' has to be repeated. The country is in a distressed condition. Imprisonments, arrests, searches, prosecutions, persecutions and transportations are the order of the day. Political life is beset with difficulties; journalism is dangerous; the vow of SWADESHISM is hard to observe. How many parents

"Do not grieve".

are weeping now! It is natural that human hearts should sink under the present circumstances. But shall we by feeling sorrow bring disgrace to mother India? Shall we forget our ideals in despair? On the day when the 'sacrifice' for the mother country commenced, when our countrymen began to tread on the path of country's salvation, when the Indians uttered the holy spell, 'VANDE MATARAM', in the 'service of their Dharmam' when the ideal of Swaraj was declared on the platform of the Indian National Congress,--on that very day three hundred millions of Indians were involved in the troubles caused by foreigners. From that very day the life of the Indians is beset with hardships. The heart must be purified in the fire of mental distress. Courage and resolve must be developed in difficulties only. It is only dark clouds that pour down life-giving drops of water. Green crops grow only when the ground is broken by ploughing. Gold shines in its natural colours only in flames of fire. Similarly the virtues of man shine forth in moments of distress. But common people might lose their courage during troublous times. Oh, countrymen! Note one thing. What did Arabindo Ghose say? He said that the national movement is God's mission, that the nationalist leaders are instruments in the hands of of God working out the welfare of the country, and that the national movement cannot be trodden down."

"The Mahratta newspapers" 12. Referring to the agitation in the Mahratta country during the year 1897 when the plague regulations were ~~conferred~~ enforced on the first outbreak of the disease and to the sentences passed on the editors of some newspapers, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th July observes:--Again the story has commenced as it did eleven years ago. The editor of the VIHARI is sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs.1000 and the editor of the KAL to nineteen months' rigorous imprisonment. The eidtor of the KESARI has been committed to the High Court Sessions. The

ARUNODAYA case is still pending. As in 1897, all the editors are now arrested. Then in Mr.Tilak's case, there were at least there Mahratta-knowing native jurors. In the recent KAL case, there was not even one Hindu among the ~~time is not without reason~~ nine jurors. (x) But the chief cause of the present unrest is the present administrative policy of the foreign rulers which, instead of being based on the loyalty of the people who differ from them in customs, dress, language and civilisations, is founded on 'prisons', although the Government's attempt to suppress the natural desires of the people for independence by means of imprisonments and repressive laws is undesirable.

The KAL case.

13. Referring to the KAL sedition case, the NADEGANNADI, of the 11th July, observes that the article which was the subject of sedition was written in Mahrathi. But the assessors consisted of four Europeans, three Parsis and two Muhammadans; and yet four of them declared the accused to be not guilty. It was also observed that the accused was led away by his patriotic zeal in writing the article. In these circumstances the accused was sentenced to eighteen month's imprisonment. The rank smell of British justice is sickening the people in all parts of the country.

The position of Mussalmans in India.

15. The SHAMS-UL-AKHBAR, of the 13th July, writes a lengthy article on the position of the Mussalmans in India of which the following is a brief summary. The Mussalmans are beset with untold and innumerable difficulties. They are envied by their Hindu brethren, and the Christian missionaries are lying in wait for ensnaring them. Hundreds of castes are settled in India, and all of them are without a single exception panting for the blood of Mussalmans. Had it not been for the Government the Muhammadans would have been annihilated by this time. In spite

of their critical position, the Muhammadans do not seem to shake off their lethargy. If this Government were to leave India, there would be none left except God to uphold Mussalman interests. The present development of troubles required us to give up all discord and mutual hatred, and with one accord to uphold the British Government, to upset which the Bengalis are making use of dynamite. If the Muhammadans do help Government in such times as these their protests will bear the desired fruit, and their interests and claims will not, as at present, be overlooked. The Government will not regard them as mean and contemptible beings and holding this view will not think of partitioning India or of wresting Macedonia from the hands of Turkey!

The Partition of Bengal.

16. The MUKHBIR-E-DAKHAN, of the 15th July, in its article on the "Partition of Bengal", makes the following observations:--Lord Curzon being presumably tired of the slights and opposition of the Bengalis to which he is exposed for carrying into effect the policy of splitting a great nationality in two, has said in a parliamentary debate that the partition was none of his doing. The partition was his crowning political blunder, because by that attempt he succeeded in re-awakening the long-dormant hostility of the Mussalmans and ~~xxxxxxdxin~~ Hindus. In consideration of the present situation and of the maintenance of the hated partition as a settled fact, the revival of the partition question ~~of the xx~~ is not advisable, as it will be the Muhammadans who will suffer thereby. Should any future change take place in the policy of the partition of Bengal, the feelings of hostility between Hindus and Muhammadans will become stronger and stronger day by day. If the partition of Bengal were to be set aside, then every one would have reason to think that our Viceroy is very hasty-tempered and lacking in foresight and tact. It is not becoming a powerful Government that it should be afraid of the anarchism of Hindus and modify the principles of administration already adopted. It is hoped

that Viscount Morley will stick to his policy and will not adopt a course, owing to which the Mussalmans would probably be subjected to oppression, and the confidence that they have in the impartial administration of the British Government might be shaken. Such a policy as the above is not likely to put down the present disturbances in India or to suppress the agitation of the Bengalis.

III. LEGISLATION.

The Press Act.

17. ~~The~~ A London correspondent of the INDIA, of the 11th July writes:--We have now come to know of the various sections of the Press Act by wire and the provision in it, which empowers the Police to search any place where they suspect an objectionable paper to be printed or published, has opened the way for them to enter any premises they like and make a bargain of it. This is the peaceful condition which our countrymen here boast of having established in India!

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"Why a proclamation of loyalty now?

19. With reference to the statement made by the Hon'ble Mr.J.C.Ghosh in the Bengal Legislative Council about the loyalty of the Indians, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th July, remarks:--We cannot understand what necessity there was for Mr. Ghosh to proclaim the loyalty (+) will not result in any new benefit to the Indians. It is now fifty years since rights used to be obtained from the British by promises. The Indians have all along been known to be only loyal and not disloyal, and if the British now take the Indians to be disloyal, any amount of proclamation to the contrary will not be of any avail.

21. A correspondent of the SURYODAYAM, of the 21st and the 28th June, remarks:--When England warred with France for the possession of India, we stood on the side of France and helped her to win the day. As a result of this we are now enjoying any number of privileges. Our ancestors also helped the Americans to gain their independence, when the latter could no longer continue to be subject to the cruel Englishmen. Not to falsify our sympathetic nature in the past, should we not now help our Indian brethren, as far as it is lies in our power, to gain a victory over the cruel Britishers? It is quite necessary that, all of us being sons of mother Bharata, we should try to relieve the distress of Sri Aravinda Ghosh, who is now the victim of a false charge.

The Indians and French India

22. A correspondent of the SURYODAYAM, of the 21st and 28th June, writes:--We, the Hindus, were all along blindly regarding the whites as our saviours and implicitly obeying their mandates in every respect. Having eaten well of our wealth, they have now begun to lord it over us. This is because we used to bow to them as our superiors. We have forsaken the noble language of Sanskrit, the main language of mother Bharata, and begun to read the false books published by the white missionaries, who have not an iota of wisdom in their brains. Should we learn wisdom from these?

The worship of the whites.

25. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th July, writes:--We learn that a Bill has been introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Petermaritsburg, the provisions of which are:.(1) that no Indian shall be allowed to enter Petermaritsburg, on any kind of agreement, after the 30th June 1911; (2) that no license shall be given to any Indian after December, this year; and (3) that

The Indians in the Transvaal

no kind of license shall be issued after the 3rd December 1918. The enactment of these laws by the colonial Governments clearly shows that the Colonial whites do not like the idea of the Asiatics living and competing with them on equal terms in trade. There may be some meaning in their being jealous of another race, when the members of that race happen to be the subjects of a foreign Government like China or Japan; but we cannot understand why they should eject the Indians, who are British subjects equally with themselves. There is nothing more foolish than regarding the Indians as a foreign people. WE do not know how it is statesmanship on the part of the Colonial Secretary to allow these anti-Indian laws to be passed one after another by the Colonial Legislatures.

"Our destiny."

26. The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 10th July, writes:--"Our present condition is known to all. It does not need any mention. The fire of the eyes of the Government falls on the newspapers and 'reduces them to ashes'. It is not possible to find out what is sedition and what is not sedition. Really, woeful days have set in for newspapers. Every day editors of newspapers get entangled here and there like birds. SWADESHI preachers are arrested. The punishments are becoming severer day by day. It is necessary therefore that the editors of newspapers should desist from severely criticising the measures of the Government and going to jail incurring their displeasure, and take to the discussion of social problems and adopt measures for the education of the masses. What is the use of finding fault with the Government whilethere are many defects in ourselves? We do not know our duty, and our selfishness 'has grown fat' which alone is corrupting us. Our educated men regard servitude as the highest end. In fact, we are our own enemies. We sincerely believe that God in His mercy has vouchsafed this arbitrary Government to us, considering that these unfortunate people cannot better themselves under any other Government. The belief is being engen-

dered that by regular training under the present Government alone we can at one time or other attain to that state when we may be able to satisfy our aspirations. Our conduct cannot be set right except under the present Government. Our pernicious customs cannot leave us except under the present Government. It is the Government that is the cause of the sprouting up of national spirit in our country. In this respect the English language has conferred a great boon on us. Therefore, oh, countrymen! If you wish that your nation should last for ever in this world you must, without abusing the Government, devote your energy and skill to impart national education to your brethren who are steeped in the darkness of ignorance like helpless birds. Work with a vow that you will devote your life to the service of the mother country."

The ultimate result of sedition

28. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 15th July, observes that a whole nation has been made to suffer on account of the rash and imprudent action of some foolhardy youths in Bengal. Though few have taken part in instigating those youths to such savage acts, the whole of the nationalists' party is believed by Government to be responsible for the recent outrages and is consequently harassing them. For, it cannot be maintained that all those who are being prosecuted in connection with the recent crimes were bent on subverting law and order. Ever such a highly educated man as Mr.Paranjpe (the editor of the KAL) was sentenced to ninetten months' imprisonment. On carefully reading the article which formed the subject-matter of the indictment it will be found that the writer has only endeavoured to point out what ought to be the attitude of the Government in order to avoid all danger to the stability of the empire. But only the manner of expression was different from the sweet and elegant style of Justice Davar. And for this, a sentence of nineteen months' rigorous imprisonment has been passed. Mr.Tilak is also charged with a similar offence, and it is impossible

to say what punishment will be meted out to him. There are few in India who are so foolish as to imagine that they will be able to drive the British out of India by means of a few inflammatory speeches or writings. The people are fighting for their legitimate rights and privileges, just as there are several liberal-minded Englishmen who desire to extend to the Indians the rights and liberties which they themselves enjoy. If some have been somewhat inconsiderate in their methods (of fighting for these privileges) no fair-minded Englishman would think it right to give vent to his rage by wholesale prosecutions. It is impossible to enumerate the benefits of the British rule in India, nor can we be too grateful to our rulers for those benefits. It is no doubt the duty of our rulers to bring back to the right path any of those under their charge who might go astray. But it must also be remembered that gentle persuasion is far more effective than repressive measures in curbing the rebellious spirit of any people. Repression should be resorted to only as a last resource when all other remedies fail. It is hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy will take the above words into consideration and in future try to conciliate the people by holding a more sympathetic attitude towards them.

The present situation.

29. The BHARATI, a newly started daily of the 14th July says:--There are some including even several English journalists who still persist in holding that the recent disturbances in India such as the bomb outrages have no connection with the political agitation in the country. This policy of wilfully concealing the real causes of the present unrest is fraught with great danger to the people. It might mislead the just and liberal-minded Englishmen and other distant foreigners as regards the real causes of these disturbances. It might probably relieve the authorities of the fear of being exposed in the British Parliament But it would certainly be laudable to try to check this unrest

by enlightening those who have all been ignorant about the state of affairs in India and to put an end to the present situation. But it will never do to lull to sleep those who are already disposed to be inactive. If the disturbances had occurred only in one or two villages in some corner of the country, they could certainly not be ascribed when they occur almost simultaneously in every part of the country? It is certainly treason or folly not to awaken the authorities to the gravity of the situation. If the disturbances did not arise from political motives, how was it that those who have been arrested in connection with the bomb outrages openly declare that their object in organizing a gang was to terrorise the British Government by killing British officials. To what can the outrageous conduct of the YUGANTAR BE ascribed? What do the prosecutions against newspapers in Delhi point to? Why were Guzerathi newspapers proceeded against? Why was Paranjpe sentenced to nineteen months' imprisonment? What does the sentence against Siva in the Tinnevelly sedition case show? What was the offence committed by Chidambaram Pillai? Is it want of education in these persons that led them to those acts? Or, did they commit murder or dacoity? What else are these disturbances if not political? No true well-wisher of the British will try to deceive the authorities by concealing the real causes of the present unrest. It is hoped that the Home authorities will try to restore peace in the country by removing the difficulties brought on by the behaviour of some of the local authorities.

The policy of repression

30. The SRI KRISHNA SUKTHI for June observes that if, instead of trying to restrain the liberty of the people and of the press by means of various new laws and regulations, the Government should repeal those already passed in connection with the recent disturbances, release the popular leaders who have been put in jail and undo the partition of Bengal which is the real source of discontent in the country, there is not the slightest

doubt that the people will again come to enjoy perfect peace. It is hoped that the Government will try to win the loyalty and affection of the people by adopting the latter course.

31. A leader in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 4th July, says that the refusal to grant bail to Mr.Tilak by Justice Devar of the Bombay High Court is a most deplorable and astounding news to all fair-minded and justice-loving Indians. The article insinuates that the responsibility for all these seditious prosecutions now raging in the Bombay Presidency and the Government order against granting bail to persons implicated in them is cast on Lord Morley. There may be some truth in the rumour, notwithstanding its recent contradiction, that Sir George Clarke proposed to resign his Governorship on account of some disagreement with the policy of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, in respect of this matter. The abiding faith the Indians once had in the rectitude of the British Tribunals as compensating for the shortcomings of the executive administrators is gradually waning on account of the perverseness of some Judges in the trials of cases between Government and its subjects. Political prisoners, in every civilised country, are treated with consideration and leniency, but in India the case is different. Executive officers are all powerful here and Judicial officers are but tools in their hands. If the latter behave independently their prospects are made gloomy. The Government should try to maintain the dignity of the High Courts which were looked upon by the subjects as the pillars of British justice. Now that there is widespread unrest in the land, it is the duty of Government to be conscientiously and scrupulously just in all their dealings. Sedition is not defined in the Indian Penal Code and it is difficult to conceive what sedition is and what not. There seems to be no distinction at present between reasonable criticism and sedition. In the case of Mr. Tilak the jurors are yet to decide whether some of his words

Remarks on the refusal to grant bail to Mr.Tilak

are seditious or not; and it is painfully surprising that bail has been refused to him by Justice Devar, who, as a Barrister in 1897, appeared before the late Justice Tyabji and got Mr. Tilak released on bail for the same kind of offence. Mr.Devar now that he has been raised to the Bench, seems to have forgotten the arguments used by him then as a Barrister.

Anent the same subject, a leader in the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 8th July, remarks that the offence is not yet established against Mr.Tilak and that it is a pity that Judges are refusing bail in all cases in which editors are charged with sedition. There is a universal complaint against the want of a clear definition of sedition. It should not be left to the discretion of the Police officers and Magistrates to decide what constitutes sedition and what does not. Most of them are not probably well versed in law or language; and the extreme penalty that is meted out to offenders of this class is evidence that even the supposed impartiality of Judges is being assailed by the present unrest. It is a cardinal principle in all jurisprudence to afford every facility to an accused till he is convicted after a fair trial and it is doubtful whether under-trial persons are to be detained under custody when there is no fear of their evading law. Whether the detention of popular leaders in the custody will allay the unrest or will tend to increase the discontent is also a matter worth deep consideration.

Some remarks on Swadeshism.

32. In the course of an article on Swadeshism, a correspondent in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 4th July, deplores the present miserable condition of India says that Swadeshism, the messenger of "Swaraj" that has, though beset with difficulties, set out to meet the goddess India, suffering from famine, pestilence and slavery, is like the message of hope from Rama conveyed by Hanuman to Sita, who was surrounded by the Rakshasa women in Lanka. The goddess India will soon emerge from all trammels and slavery. It is a mistake to suppose ~~when the~~

that Swadeshism is a new creation, but its existence can be traced to a period when the idea of property i.e, "mine" and "thine" originated in the minds of men. It is a modified form of Swadeshism that leads a poor man to betake himself to beggary for the sustenance of his life and this narrow idea ~~dxxx~~ when expanded becomes Swadeshism, which is the exalted state of the developed intelligence of a noble man. In order that crops may be plentiful, weeds ought to be removed and in the same way for Swadeshism to be prosperous Videshism (foreignness) should be expelled (boycotted). The strength of Videshism is evidence of the weakness of Swadeshism. It should not be misunderstood that my contention is that in order to improve ourselves we ought to injure others. If we allow members of another family to enter our house and manage our affairs, surely our authority will be at an end. It is only after we have driven them out, we can enjoy independence and other benefits and Swadeshism can advance only when Videshism is boycotted. Some of us are afraid of boycott and expulsion of Videshism as dangerous. But is it not our duty to drive out outsiders who trespass into our houses and tamper with our liberties? Even if there should be some risk in this attempt it should be welcomed as a harbinger of future happiness. Our own people will like us better than outsiders and they will use things made by us for domestic purposes in preference to things made by strangers. If we continue in this manner to make everything necessary for us ourselves, the encroachment of outsiders will gradually cease and they will retire in the way in which they came, without causing any disturbance. Persistent exertion on our part without any assistance from others will conduce to the weakening of Videshism and no forcible ejection of Videshism, to allow Swadeshism to spread, is necessary. History tells us that at one time the English penalised the use of Indian goods in order to foster their industries. We have no power to punish, but we can act. So let us exert ourselves vigilantly and we shall never fail.

For the week ending the 25th July 1908.

No. 30 of 1908.

1. The HINDU, of the 23rd July, has the following leader:-

The conviction of Mr.Tilak.

"The verdict of 'guilty' in Mr. Tilak's case will not take the public by surprise, nor the sentence of six years' transportation inflicted upon the illustrious prisoner before him by the learned Parsee Judge. The Judge had shown the bent of his mind when he declined to admit Mr.Tilak to bail and declared that he was not willing to give his reasons for the refusal as, if given, they might prejudice the case. He had read the articles and had evidently come to the conclusion that they were seditious. He has now emphatically affirmed his view in passing sentence upon Mr.Tilak, that none but a diseased and perverted intellect would hold the accused innocent of the offence. This is an uncalled for and unmerited slander against the two jurymen who honestly ventured to differ from the others in the jury box. We undertake to say that ninety-nine out of one hundred persons who read the articles after the prosecution was launched were struck with astonishment that the Bombay Government under the liberal REGIME of Sir George Clarke, should have deemed such articles seditious and should have directed the prosecutions. The facts, however, that one article of the 12th May in the KESARI was first pitched upon to prosecute and, some days afterward another article of the 9th June was also tacked to it, showed a grim determination on the part of the authorities to bring all their forces to bear in their campaign against Mr.Tilak. Mr. Justice Devar, as we have said, declined to grant the application for bail on behalf of Mr.Tilak and when the two cases were committed to his Court for trial, he allowed an application made to him on behalf of the Crown that the cases should be tried by a special jury instead of a common jury, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr.Tilak on the ground that persons belonging to the latter classes would be in a better position to understand the language in which the articles are written than those belongi

to the former. The Judge also allowed, in spite of opposition by the accused, the two cases based upon two articles ~~xxxatxxan unfavourable-impression~~ are written at an interval of a month to be heard together by the same jury, the inevitable result of which would be to make the cumulative effect of the articles create an unfavourable impression in the mind of the jurors against the accused. The leanned Judge, however, declared that in regard to both these points, his order was conducive to the interests of the accused! A special jury was empanelled in the trial consisting of seven European Advocates, each taking a part in pressing the case for the prosecution. The only witness examined was the Government Translator ~~the~~ whose business it was to translate the offending articles in the KESARI. Mr. Tilak conducted the defence himself, cross-examined the Translator at great length, and showed that much of the translation was defective, and that in many instances no appropriate words could be found in English for Marathi words and VICE VERSA. The prosecution also put in evidence a post-card in which were written the names of two books on the making of explosives. Mr.Tilak, the accused, may remember with what flaring head lines this fact was noticed in the columns of such papers. The post-card was admitted in evidence by Mr-Justice Davar, though, in this summing up to the jury, he asked them not to attach any weight to the post-card and to leave it out of consideration. The learned Judge could hardly, by saying so, have effaced the deadly impression which must have been already produced on the mind of the jury by his previous erroneous order. When the case for the prosecution was closed with this evidence , Mr.Tilak put in evidence some articles of the KESARI in order to show the general nature and trend of the views inculcated in his writings. This was held by the presiding Judge to have disentitled Mr.Tilak to the right of reply and to the last word in the case. No unbiassed mind can fail to percei e the enormously depressing circumstances under which Mr.Tilak was weighted down. He stood single-handed in a contest with the Crown whose overpowering resources and influence were unspar-

ingly used against him. During the trial, Military assistance was called in, in order to protect the presiding Judge's persons and to guard his house and the Court premises. Mr.Tilak rose under these circumstances to address a jury composed of seven Europeans and two Indians. The value of a trial by jury consists in the fact that the jury would be composed of the accused's own countrymen. This is recognised in the provision of law which entitles a European offender to demand the right of claiming to be tried by a jury, the majority of whom are Englishmen. In Mr.Tilak's case, exactly the opposite principle was allowed to prevail. As regards at least the offence under section 153-A with which he stood charged, the seven Europeans who were on the jury were persons between whom and the Indians Mr.Tilak's articles are charged as having attempted to excite race hatred. How iniquitous the law in India is, in this respect, will be apparent by this. Labouring under the dead weight of all possible adverse circumstances, Mr.Tilak presented his own case to the jury in a manner which has evoked universal admiration in the country. Professional Advocates could not have put forth the case with an equal mastery of the subject, with equal forensic ability, intellectual force and moral fervour. He has by his powerful address vindicated the right, such as ought to exist, of the liberty of the press in this country, for which all lovers of national progress ought to feel grateful to him. Mr.Tilak's dauntless courage in rising superior to his surroundings and subordinating self-interest to the country's cause, are the rare qualities of an ardent patriot. Mr.Tilak's remarkable address, though it has failed to convince the jury and the Judge, has strengthened his hold on the minds of the people of his country as a steadfast, unflinching patriot, and a man of transcendant abilities. The Judge's summing up to the jury was remarkably trivial and narrow-minded. He said that Mr.Tilak wanted the jury to stand between the law and the liberty of the press. He made an extraordinarily silly point regarding the long time Mr.Tilak was addressing the Court, saying that the

readers of his paper would not have the same lengthy explanation given to them. That his mind, however, was warped by ill-concealed prejudice is clear from his observation that it is only a diseased and perverted mind that can hold the article in the KESARI as not seditious. Anticipating, therefore, correctly the verdict of the jury, he prolonged the sitting till 10 P.M. yesterday, having predetermined, as he says what the punishment on the accused should be. It is also a wonderful concatenation of events in this most sensational State trial, that when by a stretch of his judicial prerogative, Mr.Justice Davar prolonged the trial last night to so late an hour as 10 o'clock and sentenced Mr.Tilak to transportation for six years in order that he may be out of the country 'for some little time', a steamer of the R.I.M. was found at once in readiness at the harbour to which Mr.Tilak was removed. We find, on the whole, little substantial difference between a judicial trial conducted as Mr.Tilak's was, and punishment by Executive order for which Lord Curzon has put in an eloquent plea in the House of Lords. All lovers of constitutional progress and good government in the country will look upon the result in Mr.Tilak's case with dismay."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 23rd July, writes:--"The Tilak case concluded last night at 10 o'clock, the Court sitting till that late hour. The jury by a majority of seven against two convicted the accused, and the Judge accepting the verdict sentenced him to transportation for six years. A unanimous verdict was evidently impossible; and the composition of the jury and the division in the exact proportion of the composition between European and Indian jurymen show a material difference in the point of view of the two sections. Eleven years ago, Mr. Tilak was tried for sedition by a jury of six Europeans and three Indians, and the verdict then was divided in the same proportion i.e., six against three. Such a division of opinion among the jury weakens the moral force of the prosecution in an important case of this nature; and we fear that that division is not confined to the jury alone. Whatever may be the general opinion about Mr.Tilak personally, about his views and politics,

the view of the law that has prevailed against him will be scrutinised with care, in view of its effect on the freedom of public discussion in general. Mr.Tilak was indicted on the basis of whole articles, not upon any specific sentences or passages in them. Such an indictment has both its advantage and disadvantage. The advantage consists in the articles being read and judged as a whole, their trend and meaning being estimated without regard to particular portions which, taken separately, may convey a different intention from that which the articles, taken as a whole, are calculated to do. It is possible that, here and there, there may be sentences and passages which lend themselves to highly unfavourable interpretation, while other sentences and passages may quite modify that interpretation. But there is disadvantage, and that lies in the difficulty of the accused to make his defence when he is called upon to defend himself against the whole. He does not know which view of criticism he is to explain and defend, which portion is considered seditious and which is not. Mr.Tilak complained of this in his address to the jury, and from the general point of view there is force in the complaint; for, clearly, the whole article may not be seditious though the general tenor of it may point to that conclusion, and it is of use to know which opinion or language contravenes the law and which does not.

"The articles themselves have been published in English, and the translation has been objected to, and admitted to be inaccurate as regards certain words and expressions. The jury have, we believe, taken these inaccuracies into account, and framed their verdict after making allowance for them. Yet two of them have dissented, and probably these two are men who know the vernacular in which the articles are written. Their disent in a vindication of the view that the articles do not transgress the law. That view has been taken by many who have read the translations, and upheld by two jurymen who tried the case. It was argued in the course of the trial that Government established

by law is a different thing from the officials who constitute the bureaucracy and that the criticism was of the bureaucracy and not of the Government. The law as it stands is indeed more comprehensive in its scope than it was eleven years ago; but its extended scope is only as regards the application of the word 'disaffection' and has no reference to 'government established by law'. Indeed, according to the law laid down by Mr.Pinhey there is no difference in the eyes of the Indian populace even between official Europeans and non-official Europeans. But that is a view which, we feel sure, will not be upheld. In the Tilak case, a majority of the jury have apparently accepted the view that Government is bureaucracy, and bureaucracy is Government. The Judge's charge to the jury is not before us, and therefore it is difficult to say how far this view has received judicial sanction. It seems to us, however, that considerable confusion has been created by tacking on a charge under section 153-A ~~x~~ to that under section 124-A. The two are quite distinct; yet in recent trials, there has been mixing of the two. Sedition as defined in section 124-A is against Government; the offence defined in section 153-A ~~was-included-in-the-offence-under-section 124-A.--His-view~~ is against a class or classes. The Tinnevelly Judge declared that the greater ~~ix x~~ included the less, that is, the offence under section 153-A was included in the offence under section 124-A. His view would be right, if class meant Government in any particular case. The question is whether the class can be identified with Government, whether even bureaucracy is Government. Bureacucracy is not established by law. Government is. Bureaucracy is merely an agency, a growth, an accretion. Government alone is the political system established by law, and it has no reference to class. The system is sacred; and it is to prevent it from being brought into contempt or hatred that the law is enacted. Our difficulty is how it can be confounded with a class, how that class can be both Government under section 124-A, and a class under section 153-A. We think that a clearer limitation of the ~~people~~ scope of each section is very necessary so that there may not be so unintelligible and intersection of the two.

"When His Excellency the Governor of Bombay said in the Legislative Council recently that in prosecutions against newspapers there would be no animus nor straining of the law, we understood him to mean that no case would be prosecuted except from a conviction of the clearest necessity, except when it was beyond doubt that the law had been clearly infringed. It is there fore to be regretted that in a case of this nature against a person of Mr.Tilak's standing, the impression should remain that the accused's own countrymen on the jury could not conscientiously convict him. It should not be forgotten that in the case against KAL, though the jury was composed of five Indians and four Europeans, they were able to arrive at a unanimous verdict of guilty with a qualification as regards the accused's motive. But in this case no kind of unanimity was possible, and the majority and minority held and adhered to irreconcilably opposite views as regards the guilt of the accused, even after a long deliberation Mr.Tilak preferred to conduct his own case, and he did it, it will be acknolwedged, in a manner that few others could have done. His deep knowledge of law and constitutional history and his great forensic ability have won for him universal admiration, while his citation of certain contemporary Anglo-Indian press criticisms has not failed to emphasise the existence of a great provoking cause which forces Indian critics into the arena of fateful controversy, fateful only to one side yet."

Writing on the same subject, the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 24th July, remarks:--"We wonder what feelings surge through one's mind when one recalls the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE'S description of our educated men as 'base-born B.A.'s'. It was only the other day that a local Anglo-Indian paper libelled the Indian newspapers in Madras by affirming that there was only one paper among us which was on the side of the law and order. Such writings stir bad blood and provoke retorts. Mr.Tilak admitted that he was led to write in the way he did in reply to certain notorious Anglo-Indian papers. But provocation of the gravest kind made him restrain himself, so much so that not only a leading English newspaper which saw no sedition in Mr.Tilak's articles but the

Extremist Anglo-Indian paper in Madras found nothing excessively inflammatory in them. But considerations of this kind were urged on the jury in vain.

"Mr.Tilak did not in the least exaggerate in advance the effect of the jury's verdict in his case on the public mind of India. Moderates and Extremists alike cannot help regarding it as fatal to the liberty of the press in India. With inflammatory and seditious writing no one, least of all those of us, who accept British as essential and indispensable to the well-being, happiness and progress of India, will have any sympathy. But it must be conceded and that the Indian press should be given some measure of freedomin criticising the actions of the bureaucracy and in repelling the venomous attacks of a certain of the Anglo-Indian press."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

Colonial legislation regarding Asiatic immigrants.

2. The BHARATHI, of the 21st July, observes that the hardship caused by the Asiatic immigration legislation in South Africa has already begun to be felt, and nearly 650 Indians have returned from Natal, of whom about 300 landed in Madras and the rest in Calcutta. It is deplorable that the Government of the mother-country is extremely callous to the interests of these Indian emigrants. These emigrants have been in close touch with the Europeans while in Natal and it is very much to be feared that the situation would be rendered extremely dangerous if these aggrieved people should make common cause with the malcontents here. It would be well therefore if the Government were to procure these returned emigrants some work. Also, if the British Government does not interfere on behalf of Indian emigrants in the colonies in good time and urge the Colonial Government to adopt a more equitable policy, the new Colonial legislation might, after some time, be regarded--as in the case of the partition of Bengal--

a "settled fact".

The BHARATI, of the 22nd July, has a paragraph on the same subject in which it urges that as the Imperial Government has failed to do their duty on behalf of the Indians in Sotbh Africa, the Government of India should retaliate by prohibiting the immigration of the colonists into India.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

3. The INDIA, of the 18th July, observes:--Kudiram Bose is a member of a secret society in Bengal whose aim is the subversion of the present Government. He is (for) the destruction of the Europeans and was the actual perpetrator of a bomb outrage. This man has been sentenced to hanging by the authorities. Now coming to Sri Chidambaram Pillai of Tuticorin, he had no hand in any bomb conspiracy; he did not advise the people to go beyond the bounds of law and against the Government. He only preached that we should strive to attain our rights by the lawful methods of SWADESHI, boycott of foreign goods, national education and the panchayat system. This man has been sentenced to trasportation for life. Now, of the two punishments above mentioned, the latter is the more severe, because, in the case of a death sentence the sorrows of a man cease, the moment he is hanged, while in the case of transportation for life the man not only loses all chances of seeing his country, house or people again, but also becomes a useless being in the world, not being in a position either to better himself or to better his countrymen. So he has to lead a miserable life till death naturally puts an end to his existence. Thus the punishment inflicted on Kudiram Bose, who, not only defied law, but also actively conspired against the lives of the Europeans, by means of bombs, is comparatively far lighter than that inflicted on Sri Chidambaram Pillai whose motto was not to transgress the bounds of law. From Mr.Pinhey's

A lighter punishment for a graver crime.

judgment, it seems as if he advised the people in the following terms:--"Do not be bound by law and do not work by lawful means to improve the state of your country, but adopt the cruel methods of Kudiram Bose and aim at the lifes of the Europeans." Is this the view of the authorities?

The conviction of Mr.Tilak.

4. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd July, writes:--We understand by wire, that Sri Tilak, the foremost of the patriots was sentenced to six years' transportation for life at 10 P.M. yesterday night, and that he was removed to a steamer at once. None could have expected that such a cruel sentence would have been passed upon him, and we need not say what effect this news would have upon the feelings of the people throughout India. Sri Tilak addressed the Court for five full days in defending himself and trying to disprove the theory of the prosecution that there was sedition in his articles and appealed to the jury to be bold and impartial and ~~xxtxxx~~ realise his position as a servant of the public. But Mr.Justice Davar thought that the articles were not the outcome of the sensation caused by the bomb outrages and that they were deliberately written and it was in this strain he addressed the jury. The jury returned a divided verdict, seven declaring the accused to be guilty and two declaring him to be not guilty. Though it has not been announced who these two are, our readers will remember that there were only two natives on the jury. Hereafter there is no use of our brooding over such mishaps to the patriots of our country. Judging from the way in which the law of sedition is applied at present, it cannot be clearly marked out how far one can proceed in working for one's country. In the Tinnevelly cases, Mr.Pinhey declared that the term SWARAJ was by itself capable of creating disaffection and that there was no necessity for any political meeting in India. In the sedition case against the editor of the KAL of Bombay, the accused was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment in spite of the ~~accused~~

~~was sentenced to three years' was-sentence rigorous inprisonement in spite of the~~ recommendation of the jury that he should be treated leniently in view of the fact that it was only a sense of patriotism that impelled him to write the articles in question. Now Sri Tilak has also been punished for sedition. So it has become necessary that the question of the exact interpretation of sections 124-A and 153-A should be carried to the very doors of the Privy Council and a clear decision obtained from it on this point.

Tilak's trial.

5. Referring to the case of Mr.Tilak, the SASILEKHA, of the 24th July observes:--Both the Judge and the jury did not know the Marathi language. Had the jury been composed of Indians to at least one-half the number, nobody would have found fault with the trial.

(k) General.

"A terrified man fancies even darkness to be a devil"

8. The INDIA, of the 18th July, observes:--Two weeks back we congratulated the Bombay Government on the ability with which it was hunting sedition in its Presidency. Now we see that the Madras Government too has decided to vie with the Bombay Government in this field. After the Tinnevelly cases, four sedition prosecutions have been launched by our Government. The first is that of Krishnaswami Sarma in Karur. Then came the arrest of Sri Harisarvothama Rao and Sri Narayana Rao, the editor of the Telugu paper SWARAJ in Bezwada. Lastly they have arrested Sri Ethiraj Surendranath Arya in Madras. The rumour goes that the police have taken out eight more warrants and some say that the number is twenty-two. Surely it will be accelerating the loyalty of the people towards the Government, if every man uttering the words VANDE MATARAM even inside his house, is arrested and kept in prison! We cannot understand why these authorities have

become so mad. Perhaps every human being appears a seditionist in their eyes! These very clearly illustrate the proverb that a terrified man fancies even darkness to be a devil.

9. The INDIA, of the 18th July, writes:--The Europeans have invented a new name for SWADESHISM and that is "Discontent" No doubt it cannot be denied that the SWADESHI SPIRIT HAS now spread throughout the land and a certain small section of the people has also begun to hate the Europeans. The best method we would suggest to remove this feeling from the minds of the people is to suppress the Anglo-Indian papers whose language, it is, that has created this feeling.

The best way to remove the "Discontent".

10. The KESARI, of the 22nd July, says:--It seems as if the authorities want to create a disturbance in the Punjab which has now completely calmed down. There is a strong rumour that a Muhammadan newspaper in Delhi, a paper in Ghang and the HITKARI and the HINDUSTAN in Lahore are to be prosecuted for having disseminated seditious matter. We cannot understand what object is thus gained by inflaming all the Provinces of India at the same time."

"Sedition in the Punjab too?"

11. With reference to the speeches of Lord Curzon and Lord Morley in the House of Lords in connection with the present condition of India, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st July remarks:- - From the speech of Lord Morley it is clear that he is not in a position to do as he likes in granting the requests of the Indians. But still it is fortunate that Lord Morley has been keeping his mind steady, without being led away by the many false

Lord Curzon and Lord Morley in the House of Lords.

reports about the present condition of India. In the course of his speech Lord Curzon observed that he could not easily forget the country over which he ruled for seven years. Surely he remembers India too well, but only with a feeling of hostility! This same Lord Curzon observed while he was Viceroy that the Indians were not yet fit to share the responsibility of the Government; but, in the present speech of his, he said that the Indians were now scheming against the British Government. We do not know what has occurred within the last three years to justify this change of opinion on his part. Is it that the Indians have grown more capable than what they were three years back, or is it that Lord Curzon has changed his principles completely? It must be the latter, because it is a fallacy to argue that the Indians as a whole are scheming against the Government from the flimsy fact that a few of them had begun to do so.

On the same subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th July, observes:--From these speeches, one has to be seriously afraid as to what would be the state of India if a Conservative like Lord Curzon or Lord George Hamilton were the Secretary of State for India instead of a Liberal like Lord Morley. The opinion of Lord Curzon is that the Indians are a set of seditionists who, cannot be of any use to their country while the Anglo-Indians officials are the real friends of India and ~~axx~~ so are the best men to guide its destinies and all his remarks in the House of Lords were only based on this opinion. Thus if he were to guide the destinies of India now, he will not introduce any reform till the unrest in India subsides, and it is a known fact that the unrest cannot be removed unless the administration is reformed. ~~But-happily~~ So the result will be that the state of India will soon become very serious. But happily Lord Morley demurred ~~the-state-of-India~~ to every view of Lord Curzon's and openly declared that he would not delay the reforms on any account. Whatever may be, ultimately, the nature of the reforms to be introduced, the openness with which Lord Morley denounced the views of Lord Curzon makes us believe that they will be in consonance with the present aspirations of the Indians.

12. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd July, says:--We learn that the question of devising methods for preventing the Indian students from proceeding to England for education is now engaging the attention of the Council of India. A London correspondent of a Calcutta daily writes that the Government is also thinking of making even the education imparted in India dependent ~~is~~ upon ~~also~~ the good-will of the Government. We have no reason to doubt the correctness of this information, because such conduct on the part of the Government of India seems ~~only~~ natural, seeing that it is of opinion that higher education has perverted the mind of the Indian students into their taking an active part in politics. But the Government is only labouring under a delusion when it thinks that the Indian students have now grown seditious in their spirit.

The Government and education.

13. Stating that national education is necessary for the prosperity of the country, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 17th July, observes:--If national education were disseminated among the thirty crores of people in our country, there would be no famines and sufferings. Would not then India become heaven on earth? If out of a strong sense of patriotism, schools are started in every village and national education is imparted, will not our country become heaven? My countrymen! Without indulging in false logic in the matter of national education, but believing that national education is the keystone for the elevation of our country, contribute to the national schools started in our town.

The National School at Rajahmundry.

14. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 19th July, observes:--Harisarvothama Rao and Bodi Narayana Rao were arrested on suspicion of their having written seditious articles in the SWARAJ and searches were made by the Police. It is difficult to guess which

Arrests and searches in the Kistna district.

persons in Bezwada and Masulipatam will hereafter be subjected to similar misfortune. But it seems to us that unless people experience prison-life, it is very difficult to work for the SWADESHI movement. Now-a-days it is hard to determine what is sedition and what is not. The Advocate-General of Bombay argued in a case that it is sedition to call Europeans white-men. In the case of Chidambaram Pillai, Mr. Pinhey, the Judge, gave out that it is certainly seditious to work for SWADESHISM, boycott and Panchayat.

The Newspaper Bill

15. The JARIDAH-I-ROAZGAR, of the 18th July, makes the following comments on the Native Newspaper Bill recently introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council by Sir Harvey Adamson. Our great moralist, Shekh Sadi of Shiraz says: "Subjects are like trees, if you should nurture them properly, you will get the desired fruit." The British Government, even at such a perilous time as this, acts on the above saying, but how could one care for the lives of others, when his life itself is at stake? For the past year or two the Bengalis have become turbulent and lawless, and their leaders, have, both openly and secretly, incited the people to revolt, by their seditious speeches and writings; the Government has, by its wonted compassion, awarded these miscreants light and inadequate punishments. The result of these incitements was that the agitators refrained from making speeches in public or writing anything seditious in the papers, When the Bengalis found out that their ends are thus defeated, they had recourse to the very cowardly means of murdering innocent Europeans by bombs. This, they thought to be the easiest way of seizing the country from the hands of the British. If such is the tide of events, then how long could Government be expected to exercise the prerogative of mercy? At last it was compelled to introduce the Newspaper Bill, owing to the lawless demeanour of a few native papers such as YUGUNTAR, BANDA MATARAM, HITABADI, etc. It is an

admitted fact that these papers have blackened their columns with seditious articles. All native papers have been, and are with rare exceptions, loyal to the British Government and sympathetic with the public. There is no other Government existing on the face of earth, except the British which has the well-being of its subjects at heart, and grants them every concession and privilege. When we compare the position enjoyed by the press in the Russian Government with that in the British, we find a vast difference. In Russia the press is under strict censorship; Nothing can be published without the approval of Government, whereas in India any one may write or print whatever he pleases without asking permission of any authority. Mr.Gladstone, the deceased Prime Minister of England, had once said that "the press is the only means of having a true knowledge of Indian feelings." It is not known what good lies in doing away with the said means. When in 1815, Sir Charles Metcalfe abolished the Press Regulations there were only six native papers; and newspapers in India are now reckoned by the hundred. The reason of such a difference in numbers being obviously this that, the editors of newspapers have attempted to cultivate a more moderate style of criticism. The editors of Urdu newspapers, especially the Mussalman editors, have been very cautious in their criticisms. They have been the promoters of sympathy and cordial feelings between the rulers and the ruled. They never did swerve from their loyalty or give room to any seditious or objectionable writings in their papers. At the time of the Partition of Bengal it was the Bengali newspapers which caused a great commotion and stir in the country. Sir Harvey Adamson gave no time to the members of the Legislative Council for considering the Bill. ~~This Bill was introduced the Legislative Council for considering the Bill.~~ This Bill was introduced at the instigation of the certain Anglo-Indian papers, who are false friends of the British Government. Before this Bill is passed into an Act, it should be considered whether any good will come out of this stringent measure. The Bengali Babus, whose brains have been

eaten up by white ants, will never give up their lawlessness even in the face of such repressive measures adopted by Government. They are likely to issue and circulate pamphlets in private. Then Government will have to adopt another measure.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"Manufacture of patriots"

17. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 20th July, writes:--An Englishman has sent a long letter to the PIONEER suggesting a novel remedy for the existing unrest. He says that the students in every school must be made to understand that, when compared with the ancient kings, the British Government has showered greater benefits upon its subjects, thereby instilling into their minds a love for this Government. In his opinion this will bring into existence a new set of patriots who will become a strength to the Government. No doubt this is a very good advice, but we doubt whether his method will be effective in making the people love the Government better. The arguments of this gentleman are fallacious in every respect. First of all, he is wrong in supposing that the present method of education does not create a love for the Government in the minds of the students. The Indian public even now believe that India can become great only under the British rule. Secondly, he is not right in presuming that books specially written praising the British Government and pointing out its advantages over the ancient Governments, will create a love for the British Government in the minds of the students. Books of the above description, e-g-. Lee-Warner's Citizen of India, have already been introduced into the schools; but we doubt whether they have had the effect anticipated by the correspondent of the PIONEER. It is a fallacy to suppose that the opinion of a man is shaped by the knowledge he acquired in his schools life.

19. The INDIA, of the 18th July, writes:--Our people must understand that "liberty" is the noblest of a man's possessions.

"We should not be content with this low life."

The people of the land of Bharata do not enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of other countries. The people of this country have no control over the revenue of the land. We cannot boldly express our views concerning the administration of the country. We cannot have any weapon even for self-protection ~~of the country.--W~~ and cannot successfully prevent our articles being exported even in times of famine. We are an exception to the rule that every community is governed by its own laws. Thus there is no nation in the world excepting ourselves which is so far degraded as to be bereft of even the most important natural rights of a community of men. Itx is not an easy thing for us to regain all the rights we have lost. We can have them back, only if we strenuously persevere in the attempt. If, on the other hand, each one of us is content with what he has and does not trouble himself about the hard lot of his pooeer countrymen, we may soon have to lose even the few rights we enjoy now. So mother Bharata has instilled the wisdom of SWADESHISM into our minds to help us to rid ourselves of this low life berft of charity, truth and liberty.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd July writes:--It is a lesson learnt from practical experience in the world that both an addition in wealth and an increase in authority turn the head of a man. While in the former case a man loses his sympathy towards the poor and thinks too much of himself, in the latter he always uses his increased authority to the detriment of others. What is true ~~xx xx~~ of an individual is also true of a nation. Thus England was once known for her sympathies towards suffering humanity as was ~~d~~ illustrated ~~x~~ by the trouble she took to relieve the Negroes of Africa from their hereditary slavery

Increased authority has turned the head of England.

to the Arabs and others; and as long as she had not tasted the sweets of an absolute sway over India, her attitude towards Indians was the same; she was for raising the Indians to the level of the Englishmen and she believed that this could be done only by extending to India the form of Government obtaining in England. It was only during this period that the British Ministers gave higher education and liberty of the press to the Indians and believed in the possibility of establishing national institutions like the Parliament in India too. But within the last sixty years, the sweets of an absolute sway over India have turned the heads of the Englishmen with the result that they have now begun to think that this sway was their natural right and that any good to the Indians to its prejudice was not desirable. Statesmen of the time of Lord Macaulay expressed a hope that India would one day acquire SWARAJ. But the present British statesmen have no such faith and declare that we must ever be under the suzerianty of the British and can never dream of having SWARAJ. The other day when Lord Curzon spoke in the House of Lords, he attributed the present unrest in India to higher education and observed that the liberty of the press was not a suitable thing for the Indians. He spoke disparagingly even of the Parliament. This change of view on his part is the result of his seven years absolute sway over India. Similarly Lord Cromer, who, when he was Finance Minister in India 25 years ago, recommended the repeal of the system of gagging the press adopted by Lord Lytton now argues that the liberty of the press is not a desirable thing in the East. This change of view on his part is the result of his having exercised an absolute sway over Egypt for 25 years. Many are the persons whose heads have been turned by their having exercised an absolute sway over India and these are changing all the principles of the British. We are sure more harm than good will result not only to India but to the British dominions as a whole by the utterances of veritable autocrats like Lord Curzon, who speak disparagingly of the very institution--the British Parliament--which is the primary cause and the brightest feature of the greatness of England.

"A libel on the Indian press."

21. Referring to the comments of the MADRAS TIMES on the Indian newspapers, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 18th July, observes: The native papers have no power to question the MADRAS TIMES for bringing unfounded charges against them. Even if they had such power, there would be neither "hearing nor protection." It seems as if the MADRAS TIMES has the supreme privilege to indulge in such denunciations without the slightest fear of law and regard for fair criticism. We hope that the TIMES will not hereafter insert such writings which are not short of sedition. For the simple reason that there has been no agreement with its opinion, it is improper that it should make such injudicious charges.

Perpetuating the memory of evil-doers.

22. The SWARAJ, of the 18th June and received on the 24th July, writes as follows:--Probably it is natural that those who are condemned as the most enthusiastic persons in our time will be worshipped by our descendants as the champions of the country. There are among those enthusiastic persons many "destructives" whom we venerate as champions of DHARMA and as incarnated persons. Though their manliness, self-sacrifice and resolution are unparalleled, our minds are shocked when we are reminded of their murderous deeds. We have no mind to feel sorrow for them. It is inconceivable what the future historians who dwell on the life's dangers of man would write about Birendra Chandra, Profulla and Kudiram.

Threatening letters from the Gordon Highlanders.

23. Referring to a letter alleged to have been written by the GORDON Highlanders threatening to massacre the native inhabitants of Calcutta indiscriminately for seven days, the NADEGANNADI, of the 18th July, remarks that it is easy to

imagine the consternation in the minds of a disarmed people when a whole army threatens to massacre them. Also condemning the methods of those turbulent Bengalis who write similar threatening letters to Europeans, the paper proceeds:--If the army xx should really get unruly and begins to massacre, have these Babus any strength to oppose them? There has been nothing so serious as to provoke the army to bloodshed. But one thing at least is clear from these threats from both parties that their feelings are torn so far asunder, that each is bent upon the extirpation of the other. Unless the administration passes xx into other hands strong enough to grapple with the situation and temper the feelings of both parties, it would not be possible to check the present anarchical xttendencies and restore peace and xxx safety in the country.

The causes of discontent.

24. Referring to the letter in the PIONEER by a person subscribing himself a "Democrat" who says that much of the present discontent would be removed by the publication of a book dealing with the benefits of British rule in India, the VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 22nd July, observes that the people of this country are still as loyal as ever and that it is not due to want of regard for ~~day-official~~ British authority that discontent exists in the country but because xx the present day officials freely override the old traditions of British law and justice. The majority of the people are still unaffected by this abuse of authority. It is only one in a thousand that feels such high-handedness that opposes the Government. In these circumstances it would be a mistake to suppose that the Indians are as a rule a mischieveus class of people. More important than the xxxxx publication of a book dealing with the benefits of British rule would be to prevent the abuse of authority by the Anglo-Indianx officials. The first step towards the removing the present discontent should therefore be to retain x in service only those Europeans who are found to possess real insight into the nature

of the Indians and who would sympathise with the people and ~~the~~ follow up the British traditions of justiee in this country and to send home the rest. The next step would be to proceed against those Anglo-Indian newspaper which seek to promote disaffection between the Europeans and the Indians, so as to prevent their abuse of liberty. It is also important that all classes of His Majesty's subjects should be treated with strict impartiality, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Unless the Government turns its attention towards these changes in the administration, it is useless to expect that a book of the kind above named will do any appreciable good in removing the existing discontent.

Referring to an article which appeared in the PEARSON's WEEKLY by Sir George Birdwood dealing with the causes of discontent in India, the above paper says that, as the writer rightly observed, while it must be admitted that we have received the benefits of many Western institutions as a result of the British rule, the sympathetic and respectful attitude of the Europeans of the earlier days, towards the Indians is no longer to be seen in the present day officials; and this in fact has been primary cause of discontent in the land and not racial hatred against the British nor the desire that the British should withdraw from the country. Thus it is easy to see that the highhandedness of some of the British officials and the impatience of some of the Indians who have imbibed through English education Western ideas of liberty and independence are the sole factors in creating the present unrest. Lord Morley and Lord Minto seem to have both understood the situation and it is hoped that their present efforts to grapple with it will be attended with good results.

25. In discussing who are the real promoters of sedition in the country, the BHARATHI, of the 21st July, in a leading article, contends that it is really the Anglo-Indian press and the Anglo-Indian officials that are responsible for promoting disaffection against the Government not the Native Press as is unjustly alleged in some quarters. The paper observes that in most cases the honest attempts of the Press to expose the evil doings of the European officials and to cultivate feelings of patriotism among the people are mistaken for sedition. Often, in translating the articles from the vernacular into English, from want of a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars, the spirit of the articles is so altered that innocent articles are made to appear as seditious while really seditious ones are sometimes overlooked. It is also probably believed that the authorities (at home) would be better pleased to hear that there is sedition all over India. All that the Indians are concerned with is the demand for their legitimate share in the administration of the country and the fulfilment of the promises made (during the Proclamation). On the other hand, the Anglo-Indian Press is engaged in creating disaffection not only between the different classes of people, for example, the Muhammadans, and the Hindus, but even against the Government. Sometimes such wicked proposals are made as would make even the cannibals blush for shame. One paper makes ordinary articles appear as highly inflammatory. Another suggests wholesale slaughter of the people. Another proposes to terrorise the people with the point of the sword. By these various threats and misrepresentations they provoke the more impatient among the people so as to create much disaffection against the Government. It is essential, therefore, to check the liberty of these mischievous Anglo-Indian newspapers who are the real authors of sedition in the country. It would be in the interests of the Government as well as the people to ascertain who are the real promoters of discontent in the land.

Who are the promoters of sedition?

26. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 18th July, referring to the prosecution for sedition now proceeding all over India

Remarks on sedition prosecutions.

says that the Madras Presidency said to be backward in some respects as compared with other parts of India, is not behind them in this respect. Immediately following the Tinnevelly trial, cases of sedition are launched against certain persons in Madras, Karur and Cocanada. It is not known at present how many more are yet to follow. Government seem to be actuated by the motive of suppressing criticism by means of these prosecutions. We do not presume to vouch for the success or failure of this scheme. But we can assert almost positively that this procedure will tend to aggravate the discontent in the minds of the people rather than to allay it. When we see attempts made to destroy ~~these actions. -- Those who~~ life by bombs, we do not feel inclined to blame Government seriously for these actions. Those who express these ideas in public by means of speeches and writing are but few, but there are many on the other hand who harbour them in their hearts and the punishment of the outspoken exponents only increases the hatred ~~and the punishment of the outspoken exponent of the~~ that is felt by the latter class. This state of affairs is fraught with many evils for the future and Government should take special note of its true significance. The European officials do not seem to understand these matters on account of their ignorance of the real state of India. Responsible Government officials do not try to apprise themselves of the prime causes of discontent. The Indian officials, whose duty it is to administer sound advice to the people and other Indians, the seekers of Government favour, do not from motives of self aggrandisement, care to enlighten Government on the true state of affairs. Anglo-Indian papers and official and non-official Europeans in India misinform Government by indiscriminate condemnation of Indian aspirations. Those few Europeans who have gauged Indian affairs correctly and are favourably disposed towards them are not heeded by Government. No Government can rule justly without the co-operation of their subjects. It is not

difficult to enlist Indian co-operation. If Indians are made to feel that Government value Indian opinion, they will remain contented in spite of hardships. It can be positively asserted that no other nation can be found so loyal to Government as the Indians. The Hindu religion inculcates loyalty as a king to devotion to God. Therefore there must be grave causes to create disloyalty in the minds of Indians, and if attempts are made to discover these causes and means are devised for this removal, the present unrest will soon be allayed. The prosecution of editors and SWADESHI preachers will not bear much fruit in this direction.

For the week ending 1st August 1908.

No. 31 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

Sedition trials.

1. The HINDU, of the 28th July, publishes the following leader:--"Now that Sedition trials are the order of the day, we commend to the attention of the Magistrates, Judges and Jail officials in India the valuable remarks of Mr.Frederick Harrison, published in another column on 'The Punishment of Political ~~sentenced to transportation is subjected to so much that~~ Prisoners.' We have good authority for stating that a political prisoner sentenced to transportation is subjected to so much harsh treatment in the jail that he has recently prayed for the intercession of the counsel, who quickly defend him in his trial, for his being shipped off to the Andamans as quickly as possible. The severity and intolerance of spirit with which some Judges treat persons who are brought before them, accused of offences of a political character, cannot but, to some extent, react upon the manner in which the sentences and orders of the Judges are carried out by inferior and ministerial officers. It is, therefore, to the

Judges and other officers of the Crown of superior status that we have to look for a humane administration of the law regarding this class of cases. The prevailing tendency among Judges and Magistrates is, however, to theat political offenders with as little consideration as possible both during the trial and in the matter of the sentences passed on conviction. Applications for bail are almost invariably refused, and when sentences are passed, they are either of transportation or if of imprisonment, they are always of hard labour. An itinerant political teacher of no pretensions whatever to influence of any kind, social xx or political, Subramania Siva, of Tinnevelly, was sentenced the other day to ten years' rigorous imxprisonment, xthey Mr. Paranjpe, editor of the KAL newspaper, a Master of Arts and a man of much scholarship, culture and social position, was sentenced, notwithstanding the the finding of the jury that he was actuated in writing his article by motives of patriotism and their recommendation to mercy, to rigorous imprisonment for nineteen months.

"We have just to hand what contains an instructive lesson, the details and the judgment in an interesting case in which an English editor was dealt with by an English Judge, the offence being one of sedition against the Japanese Government. It is well known that Korea, which was once an independent kingdom, is now on account of various political convulsions in the country under the Protectorate of Japan. But the Japanese Government is intensely disliked by the Korean people who chafe under the foreign yoke of the Japanese. Mr. Ernest Thomas Bethell is the editor of a vernacular paper in Korea. He was indicted at the instance of the Japanese Government of the offence of sedition for having written three articles in his paper.

"In finding the accused Mr. Bethell guilty of the offence of sedition charged against him, and in sentencing him, the Judge spoke as follows:--

"'I think it would be a monstrous neglect of duty if His Majesty's Government allowed such a state of things to continue: it comes to this that you being a foreign guest in this country

and owing a duty of quiet and orderly conduct to the Government in return for the protection they extend to you, set yourself up as a paper leader of insurrection with his court as a sanctuary in case of danger. . . . Without at all questioning your courage or disinterested motives I say you are in a false position and likely to do the most grievous harm to the people you wish to befriend. It is my duty to warn you that if you continue to preach rebellion, you must be deported. I think I ought to be much more concerned that you should take these words to heart and regulate your conduct accordingly than that you should be severely punished. You will go to prison for three weeks as a misdemeanant of the first division and you will ~~go to prison for three weeks as a~~ be brought up after your imprisonment and required to give security to be of good behaviour for six months. Where you are to suffer imprisonment is not yet settled and meantime I am prepared to release you on bail to come up on summons yourself in YEN 1,000 and one surety in YEN 1,000, otherwise you must remain in charge of the Marshal of the Court.'

"The place where the accused editor, Mr.Bethell, was to be imprisoned seems to have been settled subsequently and a Japanese contemporary describes the matter as follows:--'Mr.Bethe has had the distinction to be sent to Shanghai where he is to serve his three weeks' imprisonment in a British ship-of-war, and that is such a unique journalistic experience that it must take much of the sting out of his sentence."

(k) General.

Factory labour.

2. The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 30th July, publishes the following leader:--"The report of the Factory Commission is signed by all the members with the exception of Dr.Nair whose dissent is referred to in the concluding paragraph of their report.

"We doubt, therefore, whether Dr.Nair's anxiety to improve

the lot of the labourer by strictly restricting the hours would not result in injury to him, whether the labourer, if he is asked would not prefer the present system to the one proposed by Dr.Nair. It is a question whether his physique will endure the breathless activity of the West in the climate of this country. It does not require much imagination to realise that the average Indian would drop down in the streets of Madras or Bombay, if he walks as fast and as long as the average man does in England or even on the Nilgiris. And more legislative restriction cannot change the habits of the people, formed chiefly by climatic conditions, without doing material harm to our Industries. If the hours are limited, as Dr.Nair proposes, it does not mean that the labourer will do within those hours the work which he does now in a leisurely fashion within more time. On the other hand, he will loiter about all the same and will leave for the home at the appointed time. It would be impossible for him to work at break-neck speed; his system will not endure the strain of continuous factory work such as is done in the climate of Europe. Nor should it be forgotten that even in India the physique of people varies according to different conditions. A Madras labourer is, for example, the poorest specimen that you can find anywhere in the Presidency. You do not find a single one among them of the spirit and the muscle and the complexion of the average labourer, say, on the Malabar Coast; and those living in towns are far worse than those living in villages. For this reason, it is natural that there should be some difference in the state of health of mill operatives who do not breathe the free air of the country parts. Hence it is impossible by means of comparison with the best of the population to draw any inference positively unfavourable to the factory system.

"WE cannot understand Dr.Nair drawing an inference favourable to his theory from the fact that men over 40 are not genally to be seen in factories, while Indian officials in Government service, when they reach their fifty-fifth years, 'usually very humbly request Government for an extension of

service.' Why is the mill hand so anxious to retire? He asks. We appreciate Dr.Nair's sarcasm at old Government officials. But we are unable to follow him. In England men of sixty, seventy and eighty are Judges and Ministers of State; but hardly will be found a man of such age as a factory labourer. In India, though men of fifty-five 'humbly request Government for an extension of service," in the Executive line no man is kept beyond that age except perhaps on account of the Arbuthnot failure; and if no man above 55 is deemed fit to serve as a Deputy Collector or a Tahsildar, there is no wonder if 'men over 40 or 5x 45 are generally not taken into the mills'. As for the matter that, does any employer care to take a man over 40 or 45 even as a clerk? And does this establish a theory of physical deterioration among clerks generally? Physical labour of the kind done in the mills is of an exceptional kind, and if 55 is the x highest age for Governmentx fxx service, 45 is not surely too high for mills and factories. Nor are we able to agree that mere theoretical conceptions of the health of operatives should prevail against the practical xxx needs of a new and rising industry, upon which not only the general well-being of the country, but the interests of the labouring classes themselves depend a great deal. The effect of Dr. Nair's recommendation is that the industry ~~provides.--Dr.Nair-thinks-that-Lancashire-has-done-good~~ must go rather than there should be any possibility of the operatives working excessive time. But with the industry will also go the means of livelihood of large numbers of people who depend upon the labour which that industry provides. Dr. Nair thinks that Lancashire has done good to our labourers; and Lancashire no doubt desires to do as more good by supplying all our wants which our mills and factories are striving to do, not altogether under very favourable circumstances,; and the result will be that thousands of our poor will be thrown back on agricultural labour to starve and die of famine which they are now able to escape xowing to these industries."

Indian tariff reform.

3. The HINDU, of the 31st June, writes as follows:--"It will be in the recollection of our readers that a meeting of some Liberal Members of the House of Commons interested in the Indian tariff met in the House on the 9th of July last, and it was resolved to send a deputation to Viscount Morley to urge a reform of the Indian tariff by freeing from taxations all articles not yielding a substantial revenue.

"The risk that this country undergoes under the officious interference of foreign or British manufacturers, ostensibly in our interests, is notorious, but we should be sorry to associate the efforts of the present deputation with the memories of the past British traders' deputations, especially as our contemporary of the STATESMAN has stated on the authority of a correspondent, that a most striking feature of the recent meeting was 'the universal agreement that the question should be looked at solely from the point of view of India, and that it was of the utmost importance to avoid even the suspicion that the meeting wanted to reform the Indian tariff for the benefit of British manufacturers.'

"It would, no doubt, be of advantage to India, to bring about a simplification in respect of many articles in the tariff to which our ~~except the~~ contemporary refers, but a general sweep of all the articles in the tariff except the few articles only which yield the bulk of the revenue, is not justifiable either from the point of view of revenue, or from the point of view of protecting our industries. In the first place, in order that the few articles of general consumption may produce a substantial revenue, it is necessary not only to tax those articles, but those which may be substituted for them when they are made more costly by the amount of the tax. These will generally constitute a large number. In the next place, we do not see why, if a duty on some articles does not yield revenue, it should forthwith be abolished, so long as Indian interests are not affected thereby but are benefited. The test in each case is whether this country's interests are advanced or retarded, and we desire strongly to

impress upon the deputation and those intereested that this, viz., India's indusktx interests, and not the productivity of the duty itself ought to form the sole criterion in judging and deciding on the matter. Our contemporary points to sulphuric acid as a striking instance of an article the duty on which affects India injuriously, and we agree that in this case, it is more than high time for the Government to remove the duty, on the same principle on which machinery has been left untaxed. Similarly, many other articles which form the raw material of Indian industries might be relieved of duty. Duties, again, on articles which neither bring in revenue, nor assist Indian industries directly or indirectly, which only cause inconvenience and hamper the expedition of business and commerce may also be taken off. We hope also that before the Government resolves on any course of action in respect of this matter, it will ascertain clearly the proposals made and place them before the Indian public for criticisms and suggestions."

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

4. The LIBERAL, of the 20th July, publishes the following:-

Current topics.

"Enter a number of citizens A,B,C, and D,xand on the south beach.

"A.--How is it that the Government of India committed such a serious blunder as to practically deport Mr.Tilak, the leader and uncrowned king of Mahrattas? A conviction was obtained wx with a packed English jury ignorant of the language in which the alleged seditious article was written.

"B.--I protest against your uncharitable assumptions and insinuations. You say 'Packed jury' and deport. Why? He had a regular trial, so much so that he was allowed to make a speech for 21 hours by an indulgent and kind Judge who allowed the useof his own books xby the accused. Such acts of kindness are very rare in the annals of criminal prosecutions in any civilized country. Don't think I say all this because I am not an Indian.

"C.-- You are prejudiced, sir, utterly prejudiced. Suppose an Englishman is charged for sedition in England, and suppose the Japanese have conquered England ~~kx~~ and have been ruling England as England does in India. The Japanese Judge of the High Court of London presided at the Criminal Sessions; and the jury who tried the accused Englishman for sedition consisted of seven Japanese and two Irishmen.

"B.--What are these absurd ~~oppositions.~~" suppositions?

"A.--Let us hear his analogy, It seems to be a beatutiful one. Let us hear the whole of it.

"C.--I have written out the whole imaginary trial. I have got it with me. If you can't spend your time better, I shall read it to you.

"A.--Surely we shall have the whole benefit of it. I feel thirsty. There are no refreshment stalls here.

"C.--Here is the manuscript I thought of sending it to the HINDU or the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA. In the last month the PATRIKA published a similar analogy basing it on certain observations of Lely. I shall read the article for you. I am afraid to send it in these days of transportation of all seditionists:--

" IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT LONDON.

"Ordinary Original Criminal Jurisdiction.

"FIRST CRIMINAL SESSIONS OF 1950 .AD.

"THE MIKADO

versus

"TILAKDONALDSON, Accused.

"(His Lordship Justice Bakumora Presiding.)

"The accused is charged for high treason and sedition under article 48 of the Togo Penal Code; and he pleads not guilty.

"The following jury were empanelled; Okuma,x Kukero, Takashira, Makubano, Tatosema, Navabaku, Bisea and O'Grady and O'Connell, i.e., ~~xthe~~ seven Japs and two Irishmen domiciled and naturalized in England before the Japanese occupation of Briain.

"For the prosecution, the leading Japanese barristers practising in London were engaged. Baron Taku, the Advocate-Gener al

was the leading counself conducting the prosecution.

"The accused conducted the defence in person; and he was assisted by half a dozen English and Irish pleaders.

"Bosh, the occidental translator to the Government of London, was the first witness for the Crown; and he preferred the formal complaint on behalf of the Government of Mikado. The seditious article referred to the 'tyranny of yellow bureaucracy' which offended the Japanese jurymen to an awful extent. The accused was also charged under article 148 A,B,C, of the same code ~~for~~ for setting up different classes ~~xxxx~~ of His Majesty the Mikado's subjects against each other. Though the charge framed against him did not specify the classes of His Majesty's subjects, it was taken for granted that he set up the natives, i.e., Englishmen against the class of Japanese rulers.

"After the opening speech by the Advocate-General, Bosh was crossexamined at great length by the accused as to the inaccuracy of many of the English words in the original article. It was urged that the article was written in high-class English in the sonorous latinized style of Gibbon and Johnson. Bosh admitted in cross-examination that he was not responsible for the translations put in. The accused questioned him as to the accuracy of the Japanese words for the English equivalents such as tyranny, home-rule, autocrat, self-government, democracy, and parliamentary rule.

"Then the accused delivered a lengthy eloquent speech lasting for a few days. A special brigade of the Japanese troops paraded the streets of London and guarded the Court House. Crowds of thousands of English labouring classes tried to give trouble to the Japanese authorities, but were promptly suppressed by the Light Japanese Cavalry of Nagasaki and the 29th Brigade of Yokohama Infantry.

"In his splendid oration the accused pointed out that Japanese journals of London and Birmingham wrote many provoking articles, libelling the English nation, and one Japanese journal the CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE of Manchester denounced the

educated Englishmen as 'base-born B.A's'. The YORK TIMES edited by a Jap named Bakucur called upon the Japanese authorities to undertake severe measures of repression and deport the English leaders to St.Helena; another Japanese journal ascribed the bomb outrages of Westminister to the secret plotting of Englishmen who have always been loyal to the Japanese rule. It was in response to such scurrilous attacks on native Englishmen that the accused said that he had written the articles in question: and that he wanted to advise his foreign rulers on the best ways of healing the distempers that afflicted the nation. He wanted the Japanese rulers to trust the people and have confidence in the natives of England.

"He dwelt at considerable length on the constitutional history of Japan and referred to their liberty-loving instincts, and tried to prove how the Japanese jury in Tokio was the great bulwark of freedom and so forth. He also quoted freely from the speeches of many Japanese statesmen showing the necessity of allowing a voice in the administration of Britain to the natives of Britain.

"No doubt it was a splendid address, delivered in Japanese language; but it seems to have fallen flat on the Judge and jury.

"The presiding Judge who thought that it did not matter much if he and the seven jurymen were foreigners and did not know the English language, summed up the case for conviction after a few stray remarks of the Advocate-General who assured the jury that the next generation could take care of itself, i.e , did not care for his children and children's children.

"The Judge told the jury that the pleas of the accused were all absurd; and he must have written the articles with the deliberate intention of exciting hatred and contempt for the Govennment Britain and that the jury must be unanimous in their decision, i.e., in finding a verdict of guilty. The Judge sat till mid night, passed the following sentence after the verdict of guilty by seven to two (The seven Japanese jurymen must have agreed with the Japanese Judge that the articles

xxxdxxx written in English of which they were in blissful ignorance, must have produced the intended effect, viz., contempt and hatred on Englishmen who read the articles:;-_

"You, prisoner at the bar, it has pained me very much to convict you. My heart bleeds for you that your talents should have been consecrated for the sinister purpose of hating your Japanese rulers. Why should not the natives of England love their rulers? You profess to love your country. It would be better in the interests of your country if you are out of it for sometime, say six years at least. You are now 53 years old; and you are at liberty to return to the country you pretend to love on your sixtieth year. I am very sorry for you. I sat till midnight so that your country would be safe from your malignant influence one day earlier. I am very sorry. As the Japanese poet Wakahira says,

"Early or Late
"All must stoop to fate..

"The prisoner was removed immediately in a motor car and then to a Railway station where carriages were waiting for him.

"A.--Was it a foregone conclusion then, that he would be found guilty, convicted, sentenced and transported.

"C.--Please do not interrupt me. Let me finish my article.

"The whole city of Manchester where the accused resided went into mourning. All the shops and trading firms were closed as a mark of their respect and regard for the accused, though the Sessions Judge of Durham had held that to convene a meeting celebrating the release of a political offender was itself seditious. The people of Durham were afraid to express their sympathy for their leader.

"The article may be closed by a few extracts from the leading journals of Britain edited by cultured Japanese journalists

"THE TIMES OF MANCHESTER.--'Whole England rejoices at the conviction of T.Donald for sedition. Though there are more violent seditionists amongst his countrymen, we rejoice that one of the chief ring-leaders was transported for six years. It would have been better if the sentence had to endure during his

life-time.'

"THE BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE.--'We congratulate the Government of London on their strenuous endeavours to weed out sedition from the province. As the Viceroy Cound Oyama has stated, a general press law is an absolute paramount necessity. The sooner the defect is supplied the better for the teeming millions of the land.'

"THE YORK TIMES.--'As the Sessions Judge of Durgham has enunciated the law, all political meetings by natives of England should be suppressed.'

"THE SHEFFIEDL MAIL.--'Why are not the other sedition-mongers who are more violent, brought to book? Delay is dangerous.'

"THE JAPANESE (London).--'We congratulate the province of Durgham on having Judicial officers who can vindicate the Majesty of law when stern occasion demands it. Deportation, exile, and transportation are the panacea for the existing ills.'

"The Japanese correspondent of the TOKIO TIMES sent the following telegram to his journal in Tokio from London:--

"'There is a very strong consensus of public opinion in England that various local Governments are very timid in extirpating sedition from England. Deportation or transportation of half a dozen sedition-mongering leaders, traitors to Japanese rule is earnestly demanded. The Home journals of Tokio, Kioto, Koba, Nagasaki and Yokohama should force the hand of the Viceroy to rule the seditious natives of England with an iron rod. The morrow after the carnival of bomb throwing should not be occasion of yielding to the popular wishes, prejudices and sentiments to any extent. The Japanese planters of Hull are collecting subscriptions to set aside an appeal of a perverse Japanese Judge of the High Court of London awarding damages. to natives of England against the Japanese Magistrate of Southampton for alleged illegal search.'

"'The leader of the seditious gang of Manchester one T.Donald is arrested and remanded for treason. There is general satisfaction in the land.'

"'The Japanese gentleman going in the streets of Manchester after the arrest of the traitor, are stoned by the mob. Stern martial law must be enforced. The Viceroy is too weak to do it.'

"'The arch-satan of sedition T.Donald is committed to the sessions presided by an Irish Judge.'

"'After a protracted harangue the jury found the prisoner Donald guilty; and the Judge sentenced him to transportation for only six years. Public opinion is very strong that the sentence is too lenient. It is a pity that the Irish Judges once acted as counsel for the accused ten years ago. Hence the leniency.'

"B.--It is enough. I am satiated with your nonsense. What do you mean by the Japanese conquest of England? It is all rot. I go away. Good evening.

"A.--It is a splendid effort of your imagination. I wish you will send it to some journals Was the appeal filed in Chidambaram Pillai's case?

"C.--No, it has not been filed, on account of the unneces-sary delay made in delivering a copy of the judgment. I hope that we are not shadowed by any detective officer.

"A.--No, we are not. Let us live and learn. Good bye."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The Bengal Police.

6. The VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 29th July, observes that in connection with the sup-pression of the anarchist movement in Bengal, almost unrestrained authority has been placed in the hands of irresponsible subordinate officials of the police, including even Sub.Inspectors, to search private houses for arms and explosives. Any person against whom a malicious neigh-bour drops an anonymous letter the police is liable to have his house searched at any time even during the night. It has also

been discovered that the police have been frequently abusing their authority and they have been even warned against searching houses without reasonable suspicion. Such unscrupulous police are a standing menace to society. It would be interesting to know how many houses have been searched in connection with the bomb-throwing cases till now and in how many cases these suspicions were correct or well founded. By these indiscriminate searches, the annoyance often caused to quiet and law-abiding citizens will assuredly affect their loyalty towards the Government. Another result of this terror caused by the police is that some people merely to escape this harassing pose as great loyalists condemning the anarchists both in newspapers and on the public platform. It is believed that the authorities will be more successful in promoting loyalty among the people by effecting the necessary changes in the powers of the police and thus removing the cause of panic in the minds of the public.

(K) General.

8. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th July, observes:--The conviction of Sri Tilak has spread a gloom over every household in India, whatever political party its inmates may belong to and whatever religion they may profess. While the whole of India is thus mourning over the lot of Sri Tilak, the Anglo-Indian newspapers most inhumanly gloat over the fact. But it is not all Anglo-Indians that villify Sri Tilak without understanding his real character. For example, just when the sentence was being passed upon Sri Tilak in Bombay, Sir Henry Cotton was declaring in the House of Commons that it was a most suicidal policy on the part of the Government to prosecute Sri Tilak at this juncture. The British Government is only degrading itself in the eyes of the other civilised Governments by its acting on the advice of people who have no experience of statesmanship instead of listening to the words of men like Sir Henry Cotton who know what India is.

The conviction of Mr.Tilak

With reference to the conviction of Mr.Tilak, the HINDU NESAN, of the 27th July, observes:--The prosecution and convic-tion of Mr.Tiaak, an admidtedly great man, shows ax clear want of foresight and forethought on the part of the sta esmen now in power. The members of the Decentralisation Commission, before whom he gave evidence, have opaaly declared that he was a loyal subject of the Emperor and yet he has now been convicted for sedition. Is it an offence to be a patriot and work for the welfare of one's country?

The KESARI, of the 29th July, observes:--The news of the conviction of Maharishi Tilak must have reached the whole of India by this time. When a man is overwhelmed with grief, he can neither think nor talk about anything, and such is our condition at present. We do not know whether the whole wonld can boast of another true patriot like Maharishi Tilak, and we doubt whether even mother Bharata will ever produce another gem of a son like Tilak. He is now fifty-three years old and who knows what his condition will be when khe returns, --if at all he returns,--from prison after six years? Who can say even what the condition of India will be six years hence?

On the same subject the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th July, writes:--Sri Tilak had made an impression upon the public mind as a real patriot as early as 1897 when he was first convicted for sedition and his conviction gave a stimulus to the growth of the national spirit which was just then beginning to influence the popular mind. Within the last ten years various causes have led to this spirit becoming more popular and gaining additional strength. Thus when Lala Lajpat Rai was deported, even Southern India sympathised with him. Then the conviction of the patriots of the land in Bengal and other places helped the growth of this spirit. Even the masses became imbued wit the feeling that they all belonged to one country and that, to whatever part of India a patriot might belong, he was their brother and not a stranger. Thus even though Sri Tilak belongs to Poona, he was regarded as an ardent patriot by the whole of India. Even his

political opponents recognised his nobility of character and disposition, and even as the leader of the Extremists he was never thought to have harboured the idea of subverting the British Government. Then again after throwing of bombs and commitTing other horrible deeds were only the freaks of a mad few in Bengal and there was no trace of it in Bombay. In Madras at least, there were some small riots; but in Bombay there were not even these. In this quiet place, the Government created unrest by prosecuting certain prominent newspapers. The conviction of the editor of the KAL was itself resented by the people and when they learnt the arrest of Sri Tilak, they clearly understood the view of the Government. Though no one expected that Sri Tilak would be acquitted, none anticipated that such a heavy sentence would be passed on an old man with a failing health like Sri Tilak. Bombay stirred the feelings of even the quiet people of that town and the whole city was in a ferment while the trial was proceeding. What has the Government gained by this, unless it be that it has satisfied the cried of certain Anglo-Indian papers? But if statesmen like Lord Morley rule India, acting on the advice of the Anglo-Indians, they will only be increasing tenfold the difficulties of both England and India. Doubtless, the conviction of Sri Tilak will have the effect of preventing any expression of opinion by Indian newspapers and preachers. It may even lead to their making a show of loyalty and affection towards the Government. But, all the same, the feeling of discontent will be smouldering in the hearts of the people. Some are of opinion that it is the educated classes and not the villages that now feel discontented, and these may think that the conviction of Sri Tilak will not have any effect upon the masses. But they are entirely wrong if they think so; because even one hundred seditious articles in the KESARI will not rouse the spirit of the villagers so much as the conviction of Sri Tilak has now done.

The INDIA, of the 25th July, observes:--The remarkable address of Sri Tilak to the jury must have convinced even the pillars and the chairs of the High Court of his innocence,

erudition and charitable disposition. But the Judge and the jury alone were not moved by this address and inflicted a most unsympathetic punishment on him! No doubt the authorities were provoked by the ardour with which Sri Tilak worked for the boycott of foreign goods and other SWADESHI methods. But why such a cruel sentence for that! Even the Judge who convicted him belongs to the same nationality!

Commenting on the conviction of B.G.Tilak, the MYSORE STAR, of the 27th July, says:--While it is but proper that even more severe punishment should be meted out to the writers of seditious articles intended to incite the people against the Government, the interests of justice require that it should first be ascertained whether the articles alleged to be seditious are really so by persons having a thorough knowledge of the language in which the article is written. Besides, some of Anglo-Indian newspapers maliciously create much disaffection between the Government and the people by making every mischievous insinuations against the people. The situation would be greatly improved if one or two of these mischievous Anglo-Indian journals be punished (by way of example to the rest). If, on the other hand, the authorities remain partial to their own class and fail to condemn their action and furthermore continue the policy of punishing (deporting, imprisoning or transporting) the acknowledged patriots and leaders of the people, it is greatly to be feared that popular feelings will be hurt still more and the discontent will increase.

An Indian for the Viceroy's Executive Council.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th July, says:--A London correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN observes that in view of the vacancy caused in the place of Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council by the appointment of Mr.Baker as Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and the Vancancy which may be caused in the same Council by the appointment of Mr.Richards, the Law Member, to act for Sir Francis Maclean on the High Court Bench,

there is a near probability of an Indian being appointed as a membersx of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He also adds that Lord Morley has had this in his mind for a long time. If this were true, why not Mr.Baker's place, which has been vacant for some weeks past, be given to Mr. Gokhale? Has he not the qualifications necessary for a Finance Member? Do not Lord Minto and Lord Morley know how ably he used to speak upon the Indian budget? Why should, then, a new man be brought over from England for this place, as the Government has now done? So one prophecy of this London correspondent has failed. There is still the other chance of the Law Member's place being given to an Indian of the stamp of Sir Gurudoss Banerjea or Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjea and it remains to be seen how far this will be fulfilled.

Political agitation and sedition.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th July, writes:--Seeing that the Judges and juries have taken the xx speeches and writings of our patriots to be seditious and punished them severely, those who are working for the xxxxxxxx National growth have to be seriously afraid whether political agitation will also be taken as seditious offences. These offences are quite different from political agitation. Hitherto the patriots of the country believed that legitimate political agitation could never be deemed a seditious act and, with this belief, were preaching to the people about the rights to which they were entitled and the defects in the laws made by the Government, These preachings have led to the creation of a new spirit among the people which has made them recognize that certain rights of theirs have been held back by the British Government and aspire for a united nationality like the other nations of the world. The people thought that the Government would hail the advent of this spirit with pleasure. Even now the British statesmen regard this spirit only as the just outcome of the British rule and do not think

it necessary to suppress or destroy it. But yet practical experience of the attitude of the Government within the past two years has made it difficult for one to draw a clear line of distinction between legitimate political agitation and sedition, and the remarks of Justices Pinhey and Davar have made it still more difficult to distinguish between them. How can patriots do their work when the Judges admit the reports of the Police without any corroborative evidence and political offences committed by the Indians are tried by European juries? Titles have been bestowed upon those officials who helped the Police during the Tinnevelly riots, and some of these Police officers themselves may soon have promotion. If these officials act according to the convenience of the people, how can they get titles and high appointments? Can it be doubted, then, that the lower officials will always take the cue from the opinions of the Government? How can these illiterate and lowpaid men be expected to have a sense of strict justice and patriotism? Similarly, will a European jury, in these times, view the case of an Indian on an impartial basis? Moreover, the system of the Government appointing the Judges and Magistrates is an innovation which obtains only in India. This fact naturally impels the Judicial officers to seek the favour of the Government which appoints them. Thus in the Tinnevelly sedition case, our Governor openly declared, before the trial began, that it was the speeches of Chidambaram Pillai that led to the riots, and also gave Mr.Pinhey, who was to try the case, a prospective appointment on the High Court Bench. Then again the meaning given to sedition in the Penal Code is itself wrong. It is there laid down that the absence of affection towards the Government is itself sedition. There is a difference between absence of affection and hatred. We may not have any affection for a passer-by; but we cannot thereby be said to hate him. All these things make us think that political agitation will itself cease hereafter. Even though this may be liked by the Anglo-Indian officials, we do not think that it will be approved by the British Government. It is only

on this view that Lord Courtney observed in the House of Lords, that though it was necessary to suppress political offences in India, it was not advisable to suppress political agitation. We do not think it is the desire of able statesmen like Lord Morley that both the educated and the uneducated should hold their tongues whatever grievances they may have. Sot it is necessary that a clear line of distinction should be drawn between political agitation and sedition.

The British and the Indian workmen.

11. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th July, observes:--The improvement of the working classes happens to be the most anxious concern of the statesmen in England and other Western countries. The workmen in these countries are all illiterate and experienced people and know what their rights are, unlike our Indian workmen. The English workmen are given a compulsory education by the Government. So they always act in union and are in a position to protect their rights by forming themselves into associations. These have the right of electing the Members of Parliament and some of them are themselves Members of Parliament. If the rich capitalists wrong them in any way, they wring justice from them by means of strikes. This being the condition of the English workmen, the authorities take special care about them, and especially so, the Liberal Government which is now in power. Among the many laws passed by this Government to better the condition of the English workmen is that which empowers the Government to grant pensions, according to a certain scale, to workmen who live over seventy years of age. Not only this; laws are being passed to help these workmen to build up their houses, to buy lands for cultivation, to educate their children and generally to prevent their contracting bad habits like drinking, etc. While so much care is bestowed by the present Ministers on the well-being of the British workmen, the condition of the Indian workmen who are equally under the

protection of these Ministers has not attracted their attention at all. All their ancient means of livelihood have been lost, and add to it, the increase in the prices of provisions, within the last twenty years, has made life very difficult for them. They have neither education, nor official authority. Neither are they capable of expressing their grievances, nor are there other people to plead their cause. We are afraid even to blame the Government.

The report of the Factory Commission.

12. With reference to the report of the Factory Commission, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th July remarks:--Our readers may remember that the two persons who sent in separate reports dissenting from the view of the Commissioners were Mr.Vitaldas Damodar Thackersay and Dr.Nair- Of these two, we now see the former has signed the report of the Commissioners also, though he has submitted a dissenting minute, while the latter has not at all affixed his signature to the report of the Commission. The reason for this is quite clear; Mr.Thackersay is himself the owner of many factories and naturally, to limit the hours of work in a factory, may not be to his interest and so not palatable to him. But Dr.Nair, not being connected with any factory, viewed the thing solely from the stand-point of the convenience of the workmen and so has boldly asserted that it would be detrimental to the health of the operatives in a factory to make them work at a stretch from dawn to dusk. He also adds that, if the number of hours during which they now work be reduced, the quality of the work turned out by them will be better. We entirely agree with him that, considering the health of the operatives the number of working hours in a factory should be reduced. But we cannot be as sure as Dr. Nair that the workmen will appreciate the benefit done to them and apply themselves to the work with greater interest.

13. Referring to the military arrangements made in Bombay during Tilak's trial, the KISTNA-PATRIKA, of the 26th July, observes

"What is the meaning of this?"

What is the meaning of all this? Surely it must be due to the apprehension of some great disturbance or to a desire to threaten the people with an exhibition of British valour. If there were proper ground for apprehending any danger of revolt in the City of Bombay, they should be carefully investigated and matters set right. This is very important. We know that discontent is prevailing all over the country. The Government also know it. But the supposition that all the people are prepared to turn against the Government and fight with them is a mere dream. Passive resistance is the only strong weapon of the people. So, it has spread all over the country in the form of boycott without over-stepping the bounds of law. That the authorities knowing as they do "the strength and weakness" of the people, should make preparations for a war is a sure indication of the mental confusion that has disturbed them. By making such great arrangements in connection with the trial of an ordinary man for sedition, the Government have proclaimed their timidity. Tilak is not a native chief. He has no army. He is not even a zamindar. He is an ordinary Mahratta Brhaman. He is the editor of a newspaper. He may be held in respect in Maharashtra and other places. It is strange that the Government should have expected disturbances during the trial of such a man. If all the people of the country paid great regard to his opinions and adopted them, it would not be very advantageous to Government to try and punish this good Brahman only. It is difficult to suppress any endeavours or disturbances after they have once developed to some extent. It is not possible to "drive away the opinions of the people" by placing soldiers in battle array. By these arrangements, the Government have not only incurred much unnecessary expenditure, but also failed to show that farsightedness which statesmen should possess.

"The condition of newspapers"

14. The KISTNAPATRIKA of the 26th July, writes:--Under the present circumstances, it is difficult to conduct newspapers. Before the rise of newspapers, India was not without other means of spreading knowledge among the masses. Narration of HARIKATHAS and Puranas and theatrical performances were the means by which knowledge morals, and love of dhramam (righteousness) were inculcated to the masses. Nationalists should revive these methods and modify them so as to suit the times. Reciters of Harikathas are required to encourage unity and brotherhood among the people and their filial affection for their motherland. Poetical imagery and the sweet words of poets are required to delight the hearts of the people and to point out to them good national ideals. These reforms will not only compensate the want of newspapers but will also develop the national spirit sooner and "with greater splendour.". The massacre of the present-day newspapers necessitates the introduction of these reforms. Mindful of this necessity, we must, without feeling sorry for the said massacre, be prepared to reform ourselves as a nation. This alone is our important duty.

Double duty.

15. The BHAVANI, of the 17th July, observes:-- Our Emperor is undoubtedly possessed of such grace. So the spirit of God NARAYANA who lives in his heart will try to help the good natured. The horrible punishments, the numerous arrests, the searches instituted when there was not the slightest offence, and the wicked methods of procuring evidence, will not be agreeable to His Majesty. Therefore, pray to the Emperor in your minds and your object will be fulfilled and the double duty will no longer be necessary. The Indians who daily pray, as soon as they rise from bed, that all people may behappy, can have no enemxies. To do good to others is the greatest duty. The proverb that time will reveal truth ultimately will not prove to be false. The Emperor will not grow angry towards the subjects. Walk not in the wrong path, and have no recourse to wicked deeds.

The bomb-throwing cases.

16. The NADEGANNADI, of the 25th July, observes that the authorities in Bengal are adopting quite unjustifiable measures in trying to suppress crime. In connection with the bomb-throwing cases nearly 30 to 40 persons who were arrested and remanded to police custody have been in jail for two months now. There is no evidence against them; nor is it likely that evidence which has not been found after two months' investigation will ever be found. It becomes evident therefore that the present confusion is mainly due to the nervous apprehension of the authorities and groundless prosecutions (following it).

Strike of the mill-hands at Bombay.

17. The JARIDAH-E-ROZGAR, of the 25th July, gives a full and detailed account of the strike of the mill-hands at Bombay, and observes that all races inhabiting India are not opposed to the British Government, it is only one particular section of the Indians who has grown turbulent and lawless. It is the educated alone who are exciting the ignorant to rebel against Government. The ignorant mass without having a deep insight into the matter join with the rebels and thus lose their lives. So long as these refractory rebels are not punished in an exemplary manner, there is not the least likelihood of the suppression of the present riots. It is not advisable to let these people alone.

III. LEGISLATION.

The Newspaper (Incitements to Offences) Act.

18. Referring to the NEWSpapers (Incitements to offences) Act, 1908, the BHAVANI, of the 24th July, remarks:- It is necessary to explain the meaning of the words used in the new Act. If Lord Minto should consider this matter and insert explanations in the Act, the editors of newspapers may, without fear, clearly represent to the authorities the opinions of the people and

also the wrong-doings of the officials. If he does not do so, it seems advisable to give up writing in newspapers altogether. The wicked writings of an Extremist paper have placed the press in general under suspicion, and the result will be the complete withdrawal of the liberty of the press. Subordinate officials can threaten the editor of any paper which they dislike and the lives of editors are therefore in the hands of the subordinate officers.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Lord Curzon's advice for removing the present unrest in India.

19. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th July writes:--Lord Curzon while speaking in the House of Lords, suggested three remedies for allaying the [unrest in India viz:] present method of imparting education to the Indians should be changed; (2) the liberty of the Press must be restricted; and (3) those Englishmen some of whom are even members of Parliament, who actively incite the Indians to sedition, must be prohibited from doing so. The main idea in all these suggestions is to keep the Indians more effectively under the control of the Government. But can the present unrest be rooted out and peace restored in the land by these means? The destinies of the Indians and the British are for ever linked together. Either of these cannot pull on without the support and co-operation of the other. So it is to the interest of both of them that they should be on friendly terms; otherwise it will only mean an ever present danger and harm to either. The suggestions of Lord Curzon do not tend to create such a friendly feeling between the Indians and the British. If the British are ever to be above the Indians, it will only weaken the Government which is to be conducted by the co-operation of both. The Indians have a right to share in the Government of their country, and if this is recognized there will never be any unrest in India.

20. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th July, observes:--Mr. Dorai Raja writes to the MADRAS MAIL suggesting the formation

Mr.Dorai Raja on the present situation.

of "Loyalty Associations," the duty of the members of which should be to preach to the people about the many benefits that have accrued to them under the British rule and inculcate loyalty to the Government. We are at a loss to understand what those benefits are about which these loyalists are to preach. Why nor Mr.Dorai Raja himself undertake this task? Perhaps he can get some ~~artixl~~ title for this! Why should he even take so much trouble? If he becomes a Member of the Legislative Council and willifies the Indians in and out of season, Sir Arthur Lawley will surely give him whatever he asks for?

22. The DAKSHANA DIPAM, of the 28th July remarks:--News has reached us from the Transvaal that within the last one week many of

The Indians in the Transvaal

our brethren there have been arrested and imprisoned. But how many persons can the Transvaal Government send to prison and how many can it deport? Already the Indians in the Transvaal have been provoked by the Asiatic Registration Act and Mr.Smutts is only pouring ~~i~~oil over a smouldering fire by persisting in his refusal to abide by his promise to Mr.Gandhi of repealing the Asiatic Registration Act. There is no doubt that with the method of passive resistance, the Indians will win the day once more; but still it does not look well that the Transvaal Government should treat the Indians in this manner.

23. The INDIA, of the 25th July, writes:--It seems two letters were received by Mr.Ghatterjea, the pleader defending

The letter from the Gordon Highlanders.

the accused in the bomb outrage~~s~~ case, which purported to have come from the Gordon Highlanders and which declared that these

soldiers would have an indiscriminate massacre of all the Bengalees for seven days together, if the least harm befell either Mr.Norton or any other European. On this, Mr.Norton is reported to have said that if the letter had truly emanated from ~~Mr.Norton is~~ the regiment, he would give a hearty dinner to the whole regiment. Has the Government enquired as to whether the letter was really written by the Gordon Highlanders? If any Indian had done the same thing, would not the Government have spent even Rs.10,000 of the rate-payers' money to discover the author of the letter, charged him under any number of sections and punished him even to transportation for life? If it does not take the same steps with reference to this letter from the Highlanders, the public opinion, that its impartiality is only a hoax, will become too true.

The English-rule--a benevolent despotism.

25. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 30th July, writes:--During the recent debate in the House of Lords on the Indian Budget, Lord Curzon observed as follows: "There is no arrangement in the English constitution by which the responsibility of good or bad government in India can rest on any particular individual; because the Governor-General is merely an agent of the Secretary of STATE for India and the latter is himself ~~is~~ a member of the English party." This defect in the English constitution has not been unknown to us, and it formed the subject of a series of lectures by Mr.W.C.Bannerjee in London itself. One of the reasons for Queen Victoria taking over the Government of India from the hands of the East India Company was declared to be her belief that India could not be governed well unless the responsibility of that Government rested solely on herself and the Parliament, and it is a repetition of this faith in the Proclamation of 1858, that assuaged the then harrowed feelings of the Indians. But the way in which India has been governed since then does not enable us to think that we are now better off than under the Company. Under the regime of the Company the Government of India

was strictly scrutinised at least onee in twenty years. But now there is not even this possibility and we are only the worse for it. There is no prospect of any improvement in our condition unless the British public as a whole deign to look kindly on us. But they have too many anxieties of their own to devote any special attention to India. But for one or two friends of India like Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Wedderburn and Mr.Kier Hardie, Indian affairs would never have formed a subject of discussion in Parliament; but even these few are not looked upon with favour by the British public, who think that they are inciting the otherwise quiet Indians to do mischief. This belief has now taken hold of even the British Parliament, as can be seen from the recent speech of Lord Curzon in the House of Lords. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, was tried by the British Parliament for his misconduct in India on the principle that whatever may be the position of the man who committed mischief against the Indians, he must be tried a and punished like any other. But the idea is growing strong in the minds of our rulers that this principle is bad. Some think that the Proclamation of Queen Victoria was only an act of statesmanship to suit the occasion and the promises contained in it were never intended to be fulfilled. Mr.Pinhey even laid it down as a doctrine that the institutions and laws of England, which was not a benevolent despotism, would not suit India. The idea is also prevalent now that the English education is the cause of all evils in India. The British statesmen think that the masses are quiet enough and that it is the educated community that cause all sorts of disturbances. Our readers may remember the following words of Lord Ampthill on the eve of this departure: "O Indians.' Think over the fact whether it is we, your rulers, or the public men who edit papers and do other work to eke out a livelihood, that really take an interest in your welfare." Thus our rulers profess to know best what is good or bad for our masses, which, they think, the educated among us cannot understand. They make the laws for our masses, they interpret them and apply them. If necessary, these are the English papers

both here and in England to give their gratuitous advice. So under these circumstances, what work have the educated Indians? If the laws made by the Englishmen in the interest of the general public are felt an inconvenience by our educated classes, what can our rulers do for that? The only way is for the educated classxxxxwhxx also to bow to the will of the Government. The view of the greatest statesmen in the world has been that the opinions of the leaders of a community should be taken as standard whenever any act is done in the interest of that community. Perhaps this is taken to be on exploded view now! God alone knows what all our country has yet to suffer by the kind rule of our paternal Government!

Revolution.

26. In an article headed "Revolution" the BHARATHI, of the 27th July, while condemning the methods of the anarchists and complaining at the same time about the irritating writings of the Anglo-Indian press against the people, says, that however much they may persist in their mischievous action, it cannot be denied for a moment that the situation shows, unmistakable signs of a bright future for India and to try to impede the country's onward march of progress is not less foolish than to think of subverting the British rule in India by means of bombs. In the natural course of events, every fruit must come to the ground when it is ripe. What can be said of human achievement when even such heavenly bodies as the sun and the moon cannot for ever remain in the same position! The British sovereignty must also come to an end when the Judiciary becomes even more iniquitous than the Executive. May such an end never come! The Indians who cannot hate even their enemies will never wish their benefactors evil. But it would be well to bear in mind that what great popular indignation prevails, it would be conducive to the safety and welfare of the rulers as well as the ruled to inquire into the grievances of the people and win their confidence by giving them a larger share in the administration of the country

27. The BHARATHI, of the 31st July, represents the peace of the country as having fled with Mr.Tilak to serve him in his prison. It would seem as if he alone were capable of keeping the people of Western India within control by means of his pen and now that he has been taken away there is no one to pacify them The article implores Mr.Tilak to send that peace back from this prison to his fellowmen, and implores the people to console themselves and be at peace at least for the sake of the memory of Mr.Tilak for he was ever for peace.

The riots in Bombay.

28. Referring to a letter in the PIONEER by a correspondent subscribing himself as a DEMOCRAT, proposing the publication of a book in India, dealing with the benefits of the British rule so as to promote loyalty among the people, the VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, of the 29th July, says:--True, it is that the benefits of British rule have been various and great and that India has very much advanced in almost every direction under the English rulers, and a book on the lines proposed by the DEMOCRAT will not altogether fail in its object. But the Indians, both as a result of English education and the knowledge of the freedom of the English press, having once clearly studied the British traditions of liberty and justice, such a book as has been proposed is not likely to alter their views very much unless the present-day authorities strictly follow up those traditions, and abandoning the spirit of high-handedness, look upon all classes of subjects with strict impartiality. It is only the observance of these principles of sympathy and impartiality in the administration that will cause all discontent to disappear and strengthen the basis of British sovereignty in India.

How to promote loyalty among the Indians.

29. Commenting on an article in the TIMES OFINDIA, the BHARATHI, of the 30th July, remarks thus:--It may be said that the "Anglo-Indian papers are the cause of the present disturbances in India." They find sedition in the air and by magnifying and giving colour to insignificant events create panic in the minds of Government. They are the cause of the oppression of the people by prosecutions for sedition. The PIONEER has bombs in the brain. It says that congressmen are instigators of bomb-making. It wants some of the offenders to be subjected to still crueller punishments. The TIMES, though not going so far, yet wants that Mr.Tilak should be put to the torture. The prosecution of Mr.Tilak eleven years ago was undertaken at the instigation of this paper. Now it is doing its utmost to make it appear that all the great men and merchants of Bombay are seditionists by saying that the present disturbances in the city are countenanced by them. It is the duty of every loyal patriotic man in these troublous times to pour oil on the troubled waters and to restore peace to the country. No punishment would be adequate enough to one who tries to create ill-feeling and incite the people by unmerited slurs. Such men are not loyal but are like Surpanaka, who incited her brother Ravana to deeds of violence. When people are in mourning for Tilak's transportation, this paper is trying to incite them by saying that Tilak's was a disgraceful act and that it is treason to sympathise with him. What is the meanness that Tilak is guilty of? Is it meanness to hold opinions different from that of the bureaucracy? Are there not men in England who hold opposite views to those of Government? Are they deported for holding such opinions? How can what is laudable in England become mean in India? It is high time for these Anglo-Indian papers to cease to provoke people by their writings, and there is no doubt that if the Government would keep a watch over those papers until they become a little more sensible and cease to create mischief, quiet would soon be restored in the country.

Anglo-Indian insinuations.

30. A leader in the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 25th July, referring to the conviction of Tilak, remarks that the severity of the sentence passed on him may have been for the same offence. Tilak is a leader not only in Maharashtra, but in all India. Even those who differ from him in political opinions cannot but admire his extraordinary ability, learning and strength of mind. The way in which he conducted his defence bears ample testimony to his ability and intelligence; and in spite of the opinion of Government and his conviction by a judicial tribunal, most Indian s will refuse to put him down as a seditionists. The disagreement among the jurors in giving their verdict may, ~~paxxkx~~ the article insinuates, be due to the presence of Europeans and Parsees on the panel. It is a pity that Government do not try to conciliate leaders like Tilak and through them the people at large and thus achieve the end in view, instead of punishing them.

Remarks on the conviction of Tilak.

For the week ending 8th August 1908.

No. 32 of 1908.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

2. The LIBERAL, of the 2nd August, publishes the following leader:--

Discontinuance of the LIBERAL paper.

"OURSELVES

"It is our painful duty to announce to our subscribers and readers that we have resolved to discontinue the publication of the journal for the present. In the last week Messrs.T.Gopal Naidu & Co., the printers of the paper, have given notice that they are unwilling to print and publish the journal hereafter on account of the penal confiscation clauses of the New Press Act. The proprietors of big respectable printing presses would not like to run the risk of losing their valuable properties for the sake of the pittance which they might receive as printing charges

of weekly newspapers. Further, we are not enamoured of the policy of seditious prosecutionx of our rulers; and in these stirring days one is likely to lose one's mental balance and imagine every bush an officer. A Pinhey might hold that there is no place for comic illustrated journalism in a subject country filled with inflammable material. In England and America a certain amount of latitude is allowed for humourous and comic journals. But India is not England. If the present law of sedition as laid down in the Penal Code is literally enforced, every cartoon and every critical article might be considered as bringing the administration into contempt or ridicule. As J.D. Mayne has said, half the population of India woule be in the dock if the law of defamation as laid down in section 499 of the Penal Code were to be literally enforced. But our Judges and Magistrates are bent upon straining the law of sedition. After the conviction and sentence of Mr.Tilak one may safely hold that there is no liberty of the press in British India. The appointment of a Censor or Director-General of Newspapers is only a question of time, as Lord Minto has assured us that a general press law is an imperative necessity. When a house is on fire, the owner is likely to resent a joke rather than appreciate it. What might appear us a harmless joke in peaceful times, might be taken as rank sedition when a storm x is raging. We have no special desire to be His Majesty's involunatary guests in Port Blair or the Penitentiary. No benefit accrued to the country by recklessly frittering away one's freedom. One can be useful to the people in one's own humble way ourside the jail than inside it. Further for the last three months it has been a losing concerns. We have therefore resolved to stop the publication of the journal for the present."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The trial and conviction of Mr.Tilak.

7. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 31st July, writes:--What is the object of the infliction of such a cruel sentence upon Mr.Tilak Could not that object be gained by inflicting a less severe punishment on him? Two out of the nine jurors returned a verdict of "not guilty" and yet the Judge never heeded this; nor did he take any note of the facts that Mr.Tilak had sacrificed his life and soul for the cause of his country and that he was just then in a very poor state of health! But still the people adore Mr.Tilak as a sincere patriot and naturally felt greatly grieved at his conviction. Not only in Poona, his birth-place, but in every part of India, the people lamented over his fate. It is neither justice nor statesmanship to treat such noble patriots as Mr.Tilak in thesame manner as any ordinary criminal convicted of theft or murder. Is it a wise policy still more to provoke the people whose minds are already in a disturbed state? By suppressing open sedition the Government is only acclerating the growth of secret sedition and this is not good either in the interest of the Government or in that of the public. Somuch for the cruel punishment inflicted on Mr. Tilak. Now coming to the trial itself, was that at least conducted in a most impartial and unobjectionable way? The articles on which he was charged were written in the Marathi language and yet he was tried by a Judge and jury neither of whom knew that language! Moreover the three most prominent Barristers in Bombay were retained by the Government so that Mr.Tilak could not get any able Barrister to defend him. Why should this have been done? Was not the Advocate-General enough on the side of the Government? Then again, is it not ungracious on the part of the Government to have added a charge under section 153 A when the charge under section 124-A was enough to sentence Mr.Tilak to transportation for life? Another important point on which stress was laid by Mr.Tilak in the course of his address to the

jury is the fact that the Government had not taken notice of the strictures of the PIONEER and other Anglo-Indian papers on the Indian leaders. How can the Government expect the Indians to be satisfied if it the Government really wants to rally the moderates to its side, this is not the way to do it. Even a benefit done to the people will not be fully appreciated by them if their feelings had been wounded previously.

Rejection of Tilak's application for leave to appeal

8. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th August, remarks:- We learn that the Advocate-General of Bombay has refused to grant a certificate permitting Sri Tilak to appeal to a Full Bench against the decision of Justice Davar. This does not surprise us at all, because it was the Advocate-General himself who, in conjuction with the Judge, brought about so many irregularities in the trial, and how can he now willingly admit that his conduct as Public Prosecutor was wrong? Is this not the outcome of the Advocate-General having been asked to prosecute the case against Sri Tilak?

Conviction of Tilak.

9. Referring to the trial of Mr.Tilak, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 2nd August, observes:--If on the two occasions when Mr.Tialak was tried for sedition he had been found guilty by the European majority in the jury, it is useless to find fault with the jurors themselves. For, Europeans do not understand the Mahratti language. Moreover, just as Mr.Tilak considered it patriotic to contribute articles to newspapers, so they might have thought it their duty to their country to pronounce Mr.Tilak guilty. This defect is due to the jury system itself. Trials by jury in India are farcical. In England, when an offender is tried, his countrymen and equals are empanelled as jury. Even in India, when Europeans are tried, almost a similar practice is followed. But when Indians are tried, that practice is not observed. It is

difficult for European jurors to understand a vernacular language. Moreover, for various other reasons, it is rarely that they are kind towards the native editors of newspapers. So, in cases that are being tried in Bombay, it is certain that the accused will be found guilty in 99 out of 100 cases. Would even a single true Indian say that, while passing the sentence, Mr.Davar was prompted "by genuine kindness." Let the papers--the PIONEER, the MADRAS TIMES, the ENGLISHMAN, and the LONDON TIMES--accuse him of kindness. He does not surely care for the opinion of the people. He thought that the unrest in the country would cool down by pronouncing a sentence of transportation. Can he now declare that the country has been pacified?

(k) General.

"How far does the unrest reach the villages?"

11. The SATHIYAVARTHAMANI, of the 1st August, writes in English, as follows:--"We were surprised recently, while passing through many villages, to find that hardly any one had heard of the word VANDE MATARAM which the slogan of Indian Nationalists; and that the great problem of self-government, or even of discontent with the present Government, had not yet begun to exercise the Hindu or Muhammadan mind in the rural parts of the country. While the Presidency towns and other populous centres are excited with the trials of well-known men for sedition, there is hardly one of these thousands of villages and hamlets which knows what is going on or who care a rap for all the contentions of Tilak, Chidambaram Pillai, Chandra Pal and Company. This is a significant fact. The people of India are, on the whole, not only thoroughly contented but are also loyal. And we are confident that if it were given to them to vote as to British native rule, 99 in every 100 would vote for the continuance of the British Raj. They have not yet come to repose confidence in native administration. They have seen and still see too much of it. What they seek is more rather than less of the whitemen in the administration of the Government. We know that the Extremists

are serious men and many of them true, if misguided, patriots. But they must be patient and not precipitate matters if they not only wish self-rule but even a fair modicum of influence in Government. But what the people desire is to be let alone in the enjoyment of all the good that they are now enjoying."

12. A correspondent of the NYAYABHIMANI, of the 27th July, writes:--The whole of India is now being convulsed by various events.

The present condition of India

The Indians are not the men to stand by and cooly see Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who had devoted his very life for them transported for life. They are now in a perturbed state of mind. Peace can never be restored in the country unless all the political prisoners are released and the Government is conducted according to the wishes of the people. We hope that Lord Morley will not attach any weight to the words of Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer, whose brains seem to be made of iron, and that he will soon introduce the necessary reforms in the Indian administration. It seems as if the adoption of Russian ways of Government in India is an outcome of the recent visit of King Edward to Russia!

The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 30th July, writes:--The British Government is now very active in arresting and imprisoning the editors of newspaper and the popular leaders in India for sedition. We need not dilate much upon this. As long as the Government has military strength on its side, it will be an easy thing for it to pounce upon the Indians on some ground or other and get them out of its way. But how long does the British expect to continue this policy successfully? What was the fate of the Englishmen during the Afghan wars? How many European heads were held aloft on the points of the Afghan lances? Then again how many Englishmen died in the contest with a handful of Boers? Providentially the able General of the Boers died and they set free the English prisoners on their swearing that they would not again take up arms against them. But yet these false and unprin-

cipled Englishmen joined their army again and after a strenuous fight for three years had an unexpected victory. It is only to men like the Boers who had given the Englishmen a taste of their strength, that these Englishmen bow. So when they see that their Indian subjects are a meek and submissive sort of people, patiently suffering every kind of hardship, they naturally ride roughshod over their feelings and have made them their enemies. The Englishmen seem to think that they have bought India for money and that the Indians are therefore their slaves. An extraordinarily heavy taxation and cruel laws have brought on famine and woe into the land. If, at this juncture, the popular leaders advise the people to unite and work for their country, they are at once hauled up for sedition and convicted by one-sided Judges and juries quite against the provisions of law and evidence. Not only this, they also allow the English papers to villify the Indians as much as they choose. What opinion will the people have of this Government? Will it not accelerate the growth of the unrest already existing in the land to regard the leaders of the people as murderers and thieves and maltreat them even in prison? We do not know why the English Government has come down so low in its methods of administration. We hope that Lord Morley, on whom rests the responsibility of safeguarding the interests of India, will meet the situation boldly and exercise his control over the executive officials in India with an iron hand.

The lawyers and the Government.

13. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th August, writes:--In discussing the necessity for the introduction of certain reforms in the constitution of the Government of India, Lord Minto observed in August, last year, that the elective principle had given room to an undue predominence of the lawyer element in the Provincial Legislative Councils in India and that many other important communities were unrepresented on these Councils. No doubt the lawyers and the educated classes in general are objects

of jealousy and hatred to the Anglo-Indians in India. But why should the officials also share these feelings? In England itself it is the lawyer element that predominates in the machinery of the Government. As Sir Edward Clarke remarked, the the present English Cabinet consists mainly of lawyers. When the head-quarters of the Empire is like this, how can the same state of affairs in India be criticised?

The recent cases of sedition

14. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th August, observes:--The welfare of the country and the reputation of the Government will not be increased by arresting and inflicting cruel punishments upon the popular leaders and this was the view recently expressed by Babu Surendranath Banerjea also. Though there may be two parties in India now, law and justice are the same for both. Can the leaders of the old party keep quiet if the leaders of the new party are most horribly punished? The aim of both the parties is to better the condition of the country and no one harbours the idea of subverting the British Government. The mere fact of criticising the actions of Government will not denote a sense of hatred towards that Government. We do not say that those who write really seditious articles should go unpunished; but the circumstances of each case must be taken into consideration. Neither Lord Minto nor Lord Morley can believe that quiet will be restored in the country by most inhumanly punishing our elders like Sri Tilak. If there is a seditious feeling in the country this procedure will only have the effect of smothering it for the present. Sir George Clarke once said to the members of his Legislative Council, "The Government will not work in any spiteful spirit in trying to suppress sedition in the land." Can it be said that either Justice Pinhey or Justice Davar did not show any spite towards the accused in the cases tried by them? "Justice must ever be softened by mercy" is an English proverb. Has this been applied in any case of sedition till now?

16. A correspondent to the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 24th x and 31st July, issued combinedly and received on the 4th August,

"Our rights."

writes as follows:--Lord Morley had to butcher mercilessly his fondly cherished pet views. He declared the partition of Bengal, which keeps the Indians in a subjecte condition as a settled fact, in spite of the prayers of crores of people. He was indifferent when the Indian Government were allowing the unrest caused thereby to grow by their despotic measures. Mistaking the agitation concerning taxes in the Punjab for a political one, he deported two gentlemen without trial not only against his own conscience, but against all precedents of British history. Declaring that liberty of the press and freedom of speech could not exist under a despotic Government, he indicated that those two rights would be withdrawn. But now he admits there is a living movement in India.

The Government is a body formed primarily for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people. The rulers get their power only from the ruled. If the ruled would not confer that power on them, they could not take it for themselves. When they take it by force they (the rulers) become irresponsible. They try by all means to strengthen their power by crushing the ruled instead of advancing their welfare. An in order to keep the ruled under subjection, they infuse fear into their hearts by their actions. Under these circumstances, the ruled need only one thing. It is confidence in their strength They must believe that not only human strength but divine promptings, they may sometimes fail to resist their enemies. In this world, God created all human beings alike. It is not therefore the will of God that one should be subject to another. I do not mean that every one should act as he pleases. God has granted certain ideals, namely, happiness, peace, love and brotherhood. These cannot be secured by any nation but the one whose members are governed according to their wishes. Oh, brethren! You forget why you were created by God and do not perform your duty out of arrogance. Open your eyes at least now. Do not be burnt by the fire of anger of God by disobeying Him.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

"The tree of Indian progress"

21. The INDIA, of the 1st August observes:--The authorities were always looking with a jealous eye upon the growth of the Indian National Congress and hoped that one day or other this institution would be broken up for want of unanimity among the people. It was only after the split in the Congress caused at Surat that these authorities realised that a new branch, full of life, had sprung out of the old tree which had withered and this naturally provoked them. We knew that this would be so and we knew also that ~~they~~ any attempt of the authorities to uproot this branch would only be in vain. We anticipated their attempt to pluck off leaf by leaf from this branch; but we kept quiet. because we knew that in the place of one leaf plucked off ten would surely sprout forth at once.

"Patriotism rewarded by imprisonment."

22. The London correspondent of the INDIA, of the 1st August, writes:--How long will the children of Bharata have to go to prison for being patriots? The recent prosecutions and conviction have clearly proved that even a conversation about SWARAJ is dangerous. In every other country in the world all the persons recently convicted for sedition would have been respected both by the Government and the public for their nobility of sentiment, culture and eloquence. But in India these very qualities prove sources of danger and indignity to them, and what is considered mean by the rest of the world becomes a passport for one to get into the good graces of the Government.

Dr.Nair's report on factory labour.

23. While commenting on the dissenting minute of Dr.Nair in connection with the report of the Factory Commission, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th August, remarks:--In the separate report

submitted by him, Dr.Nair says, "From what I have observed in my tour throughout India, the Indian capitàlists appear to be less kind to their operatives than the European capitalists. Though all Indian capitalists äre not like this, still, on the whole, the workmen in the Indian factories suffer more hardships than those in the European ~~axe~~ factories." But we do not agree with him in this view. The Europeans are never kind to their Indian workmen. They exact the full work from them most mercilessly. But Indian masters are never so unkind as to exact work from their operatives to the minute. The beating and the suffering cannot be more in an Indian factory than in a European one. It is on account of this that Indian workmen prefer service under Indians to service under Europeans.

The disturbances in Bombay and the popular leaders.

24. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd August, writes:--With reference to the recent disturbances in Bombay, the Governor, Sir George Clarke, seems to have expressed his disappointment at the apathy of the popular leaders in not having helped the Government to quell these disturbances. Some days previous to this the TIMES OF INDIA made the same remark. We do not know whether the Governor took his cue from this paper or whether the editor of this paper was able to read the thoughts of the Government beforehand. Anyhow the coincidence of the opinion of the Governor and this paper shows the link that exists between the Government and the Anglo-Indian papers. Leaving this alone, we cannot understand what the popular leaders can do in the case of disturbances caused by the rash acts of the Government itself. Already the feelings of the people have been roused by the indiscriminate deportation and ~~impxxxkxxxn~~ imprisonment of the popular leaders all over India. In Bombay itself Mr.Paranjpe, the editor of KAL, was sentenced to 19 months' rigorous imprisonment, even though the jury recommended him to the mercy of the Judge on the ground that it was the articles in question. Soon after this conviction, the prosecution of Sri Tilak was begun. There were

many irregularities during his trial. The Judge, who tried the case and the Barristers who appeared for the Crown, did not afford every facility to the accused to have justice, and the Judge never took into consideration the status, character, age and health of the accused in passing sentence on him. All these wounded the feelings of the people and they were exasperated into transgressing the bounds of law; and how can the popular leaders, many of whom did not, themselves, like the way in which Sri Tilak has been treated, help to quell the disturbances of the people? Moreover, the Government must have known that by beginning prosecutions for sedition even in quiet Bombay, it would irritate the people. Even if it did not know this, it must have taken a lesson from what happened at Tinnevelly as a result of the incarceration of Sri Chidambaram Pillai. Did the Governor, who now accuses the popular leaders of apathy, consult them before beginning the prosecutions of Sri Tilak and Sri Paranjpe? If this has been done and if these leaders had approved of the action of the Government, then the Governor would be justified in finding fault with the leaders now. How can these be held responsible for the consequences of certain acts of the Government committed without their advice?

"Ourselves"

24. Referring to the criticisms levelled at it for the alleged change in its tone, the ANDHRAKESARI, of the 24th and 31st July, issued combinedly and received on the 4th August, observes:- It is our firm belief that we can make progress by introducing national education, by adopting the panchayat system and by encouraging SWADESHI articles and boycotting foreign ones, but not with the help of bombs and a murderous policy. Our paper never withholds from preaching the national duty as described above. Owing to many causes our paper has been now and then subject to troubles, ever since it was started two years ago, and accordingly it was not possible to issue it at regular intervals. There is no other difficulty. We request the Telugu public to patronise and maintain our paper for all time to come out of patriotism.

26. Referring to the fact that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay called upon the leading citizens of the city to co-operate with the Government in its attempts to suppress the riots, the NADEGANNADI, of the 1st xx August, remarks that it is painful to see the Governor thus striving xxx to pacify the feeling of an indignant public. The authority of these Government officials, however great and useful in intimidating the people by means of police oppressiveness and firearms, is of no avail in quieting an excited mob. Again the helplessness of these administrative heads in controlling the mas ses arises from the fact that the strength of their Government lies not in the love and confidence of its subjects but in its xxxxxxxxxxxxx ammunition and prisons. The authorities alone are responsible for the present situation in Bombay and they must take consequences of acts which they did on their own responsibility. The popular leaders were not consulted before prosecuting Mr.Tilak for sedition, nor are these leaders now able to use their influence with the masses. The authorities should now rejoice in the results of a situation which they themselves created. It does not become a strong and resourceful Government to feel confused and censure a few popular leaders for not helping them. The Anglo-Indian authorities belonging to the Heaven-born Civil Service possess world-wide renown for their administrative capacity. It is thus with mingled feelings of regret and amusement that we see His Excellency the Governor of Bombay puzzled by the confusion caused by himself and accusing the leading citizens of aloofness.

Rioting in Bombay.

Referring to the rioting of the millhands in Bombay, the same paper observes:--There can be no use in rioting or throwing stones at the Europeans; it can only xxxx result in the loss of life of the rioters. But one thing it proves and is that the public are showing their discontent xxxx against the xxxxxxxxxx conviction of Mr.Tilak. But this discontent does not affect the Government in any way, nor does the Government seem anxious to ascertain public opinion. For, public opinion does not form a factor in the present administration, which is carried out by the

British officials according to their own will and pleasure. They have disarmed the people so that no harm may result from them. Besides Military troops have been quartered in various parts of the country and railways constructed for their transport wherever they may be required. The authorities are thus in a position to suppress any riot, however great and in any part of the country in a single day's time. Under these circumstances it is foolish to expect that the people can do anything substantial by throwing stones (at the Europeans) except demonstrating their extreme regret and anxiety caused by the present action of Government. . .

The murder cases at Simla

27. Referring to the murder cases at Simla, the BHARATHI, of the 5th August, observes:-- Corporal Cullen is said to have gone out of his house with a loaded gun and shot dead the first Indian he came across. He also seems to have said that he murdered the native in order to avenge the murder of an English nurse (Miss Hooper) by a Muhammadan. The news, if true, reveals the deplorable condition to which the Indians have been reduced. The newspapers urge that ten black heads should fall for every European (red head) killed. A letter was also produced in Court in which the army threatened to indiscriminately massacre the Indians for seven days if a single European should be killed. These persons who incite or attempt to murder have not been punished nor even warned; because it is probably believed that God takes a delight in these sights of massacre or bloodshed. And now a European after deliberately loading his gun comes out of his gouse and murders an innocent Indian. All India is eager to know what punishment will be meted out to this murderer. The authorities take a pride in saying that one great principle of British justice is that "it is better that ten guilty persons should escape rather than one innocent persons should be punished." Now, an innocent English nurse has been murdered by an Indian and again an innocent Indian has been killed by an Englishman, and every Indian eagerly awaits the result of the trial of these two murders.

28. Commenting on ~~the~~ an article in the NINETEENTH CENTURY (AND AFTER) by Sir B.Fuller relating to the unrest in India, a correspondent of the VRITTANTA CHINTAMONY, of the 5th instant, observes:--Sir B.Fuller, not content with the policy of repression he pursued and the perturbation he caused while in India, still embitters Indian feeling by unjustly attacking the present educational policy of Government (as being the cause of the unrest and by condemning the schoolboys and the schoolmasters alike as having taken part in the anarchist movement. If the Government should take up the suggestion of Sir Fuller and remove even the existing facilities for education, it will only pave the way to the founding of "national schools." Is not such a policy prejudicial to British interests, as, under a national system of education, it would be easy for the people to study their own religion and Western science and imbibe Japanese patriotism? Are not the writers of such articles the enemies of England? Unless such writings are stopped and the authors severely punished, there is no possibility of the relations between the Government and its subjects improving. It is hoped that the British Government will not fail to punish Sir Fuller adequately for his mischievous suggestions.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller.

29. A leader in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 11th July, referring to the conviction and punishment of Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva, says that these noble patriots, who even if they have gravely erred in their Herculean labour characterised with inflinching disinterestedness to promote the welfare and prosperity of their motherland with a single-minded devotion to achieve noble ends, ought to have been treated sympathetically according to the divine maxim. "To err is human, to forgive divine." But, on the other hand, they are accorded an atrocious and inhuman punishment by the Special Judge Mr.Pinhey who has evinced all the spurious

The conviction of Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva.

and detestable "tiger qualities" in his sentence. This cruel act will tend to perpetuate the uncommonly evil memory of this Judge, not only in India, but all over the world. The oppressive punishment inflicted by this Judge cannot be justified at any time and at any place, even if the whole country were deplorably steeped in obnoxious sedition or still more odious anarchism, Why should there be any need for seditious speeches? One single act of ill-advised policy like this will convert any loyal subject into a seditonist. It is deeply to be deplored that the glorious Government should with reference to this, observe such regrettable indifference and pitiable apathy when their officers perpetrate such acts tending clearly to prove that all the noble sentiments expressed in the proclamation of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria are delusive. Even the dwellers in the moon will not contemplate or desire the immediate or prospective withdrawal in the near future of the British Government from India. The only reasonable contention advanced is that the much-coveted form of representative Government should gradually be granted to Indians and this contention is admittedly within lawful limits as conceded not only by the Britishers but by all civilised nations. The disgraceful fact that Indians have not even the liberty which is the inalienable birthright of every man on earth will be widely known in foreign countries by such acts of these officers and that is not a creditable achievement for the Indian Government. Love and Reverence for a country, i.e, patriotism is a crime only in India and if it is in all earnestness proposed that it should be so for ever, we can only say that a public avowal of this open secret by the rulers without any delay will be an act of salvation to the helpless people of this country.

30 A sub-leader in the BHARATA BANDHU, of the 11th July, expatiates at tedious length in impassioned and stirring language on the exceptional merits of

Exhorting the people to subscribe to the Arabinda defence fund.

Arabinda Ghose, the foremost exponent of the new ideas, whose inspired utterances and unrivalled self-abnegation, it is alleged, has laid the country under deep obligation to help him in his hour of trouble. It exhorts the Indians and Malayalis in special to respond liberally to the appeal of his sister for funds to defend him in his trial. The article says that Government will not be displeased at any step taken to defend an undertrial prisoner and that rudimentary principle of British criminal justice is, that it is better to allow one hundred felons to escape than punishing one innocent person.

For the week ending 15th August 1908.

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VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

The conviction of Sri Tilak and the English papers.

3. The INDIA, of the 8th August, writes:--Though the English papers generally evince no sympathy for the Indians, the conviction of Sri Tilak is, in the opinion of some of these papers unwarranted by the evidence adduced during his trial. The DAILY NEWS remarks:--"The articles written by Sri Tilak do not at all tend to incite the people to transgress the bounds of law. Such being the case, we cannot understand on what ground he has been convicted." Nodoubt the Judge of the Bombay High Court and the English papers in India will be surprised at the fact that the DAILY NEWS was not able to see what was patent to their eyes, viz., sedition! Then again the MORNING LEADER writes: "The conviction of Sri Tilak will surely accelerate the anger of the public." But the officials here do not care much for this, beca-because they attach very little importance to the existence of the public.

4. ~~The~~ With regard to the conviction of Sri Tilak, the KESARI of the 5th August, remarks:--Sri Tilak is an LL.B. of the Bombay University and he is known to be an erudite scholar in law.

The conviction of Sri Tilak

If he had only cared for personal aggrandizement like other people, he could have become a leader of the Bar and a High Court Judge too by this time. This is a fact known to the Government as well as to Justice Davar who tried and convicted him. Besides, when there was a split in the Congress last year, his advice to his countrymen was that in writing to the papers and making public speeches we should always keep within the bounds of law. That this gentleman himself should have gone beyond the bounds of law is a fact which none but Justice Davar could see. It wass, because this Judge worked from the beginning with a selfish interest and got into the good graces of the Government, that he came to his present position. But Sri Tilak was, from the outset, prepared to sacrifice his self for the sake of his country and he had to stand before this Judge as an accused. There is a good deal of difference between Justice Davar and Sri Tilak. It is not a rare thing to become a Judge. Thousand Davars can be born in the world every day; but great men like Sri Tilak may not appear even once in ~~the world ever~~ a century and a hundred Davars cannot equal one Tilak. Still, under the present Government, sages like Sri Tilak have to bow to one who may not be fit even to be seen by them. If this same Sri Tilak had been born in a free country like England, what would have been his position? How are the English patriots, Lord Morley, Mr.Asquith and others treated in England? But, India being a subject country, her patriots like Sri ~~Tilak~~ Pal, Lajpat Rai and others have only to suffer. This is the difference between a free land and a subject country! One thing has been made clear from this and that is, that, till the Indians get their rights, the patriots working for the welfare of India will have only misery and not happiness. But a nation which cannot bear suffering cannot hope to get its rights and our rulers themselves know what price they had to pay for acquiring their liberty. Sri Tilak knew all this and was expecting the worst

every day. Moreover ~~Sri Tilak knew all this xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that a love for their countr would be instilled into the minds of the common people only by some of their leaders suffering like this.

A leader in the BHARATHA BANDHU, of the 17th July (received only on the 10th August) adverting to the conviction and sentence passed on Tilak in the recent sedition trial, remarks that the passing of the sentence at 10 o)clock in the night was possibly due to the fear of the Judge lest the light of the sun should relieve the gloom ~~wk~~ of the ~~fear-of-the-Jud-e~~ ~~xx~~ sentence. Readers can more or less gauge the merits of the sentence when they consider the fear exhibited by the Jud e to pronounce the sentence by day, even though supported by additional police and regiments. Justice should not need protection of night. Light can never be extinguished by anything and it is never afraid of the mob. The benighted justice of the Judge under such circumstances augurs no good. The division among the jurors, constituted as they were, shows the hallowness of trial by jury in India. If this punishment is the result of the Judge's leniency one wonders what form his rigour would take. Small wonder that the two Parsees who differed from the Europeans in their verdict have been classed as seditonists by some Anglo-Indian papers. The sale of Tilak's photos is prohibited and we fear that even articles written about him might fall under the class of sedition.

5. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 12th August, observes:--

"The Bezwada sedition case"

Messrs.Harisarvothama Rao and Narayana Rao were arrested nearly two months ago. A week afterwards, both of them submitted an apology to the Government praying for pardon and agreeing to be bound down for their future good conduct. We were under the impression that their case would have ended with it, but we regret to note that the Government have not yet withdrawn the prosecution. Apart from their apology, the Bezwada public submitted a memorial to the Government stating ~~thatx~~ that the said apology deserved the favourable consideration of the Government. Further, a close relative of Mr.Harisarvothama Rao, holding a good position in

in society, also submitted to the Govennment that he would himself stand security for his future good conduct. Harisarvothama Rao is a young man of twenty-four years of age, and having disagreed with the views of the SWARAJ, he severed his connection with it at the beginning of May last. We request therefore the Government will mercifully view the case of the accused and pardon them.

(e) Local and Municipal

"A bolt on Pillais"

7.The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 8th August, observes:--"There is a rumour that a report was spread by certain canvassers who were working for the vacant seat in the Legislative Council, that Messrs. Kesava Pillai and Chidambaram Pillai are relatives . If the report were true, those who set it afloat, deserve to be called Rakshasas. We suspect that a similar fabricated story might have prejudiced Mr.Ashe--recently transferred from Tuticorin to Cocanada--against Mr.Kesava Pillai and prompted him to plead on Behalf of Mr.Pantulu as regards his nomination by the District Board at Cocanada, under the impression that all pillais are of the same class. To institute relationship between Mr.Kesava Pillai and Mr.Chidambaram Pillai is something like connecting Lord Krishna's (Hindu) birthday with the URUS of Peer Sahib (a Muhammadan saint). Mr.Ashe might vote as he pleased, but it objectionable that he should have mentioneed the name of Mr.Pantulu and pleaded for him as if he were his 'vakil'. Still more is it objectionable that he should have asked the voters to vote by a show of hands so that he might see whether his suggestion was adopted. It is desirable therefore that there should be a rule that Presidents of District Boards must not conduct themselves as shown above. The Government are requested to make the necessary amendment in the Election rules so that it may be useful hereafter."

(K) General

8. The NYAYABHIMANI, of the 6th August, writes:--The various sections on sedition in the Penal Code have been in existence for a long time and yet a conviction under those sections has been a rarity till recently. The first case of sedition in India was that of Sri Tilak ten years back and it went off with a light sentence for the accused of 18 months' simple imprisonment which was subsequently reduced to one year. But within the last year and a half sedition has become the cry of the day and yet two years' imprisonment has been the maximum punishment awarded in many cases. The first case in which the extreme penalty of the law was imposed in a case of sedition was that of Sri Chidambaram Pillai of Tuticorin. In what way did he lower the prestige of the British Government? What harm did ensue to the Government as a result of his preaching? Was it just on the part of Justice Pinhey to have inflicted such severe punishment on Sri Chidambaram simply to please the Government? We wonder how this man, who does not seem to know anything of law, was appointed a Judge. The remark that his decision is not only unjust but also cruel is now made by every woman in the street. Who is affected by such a remark? Is it this timid Pinhey or is it the Government who stood by him and encouraged him, or is it even King Edward, Emperor of India, who is thousands of miles away?

Cases of sedition in India.

Then again sri Tilak who was tried for sedition in Bombay was dealt with almost in the same way as Sri Chidambaram at Tuticorin, the only different being that the former was given transportation for six years while in the case of the latter it was for life. The whole of Bombay was convulsed by this decision and there were some riots which were quelled by the military shooting down many innocent persons. Many Hindus have been killed and many were wounded or maimed on the plea of restoring peace! Is this the British Justice and sympathy? Are these the ways of a civilised Government? Not one European was killed or wounded as a result of the alleged seditious acts of certain people and yet many are the Hindus that have suffered! Pity indeed!'

The Government and the famine work of Lajpat Rai.

10. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th August, remarks:--We learn that Lala Lajpat Rai has decided to give up his famine relief work in view of the unwarranted clashing of the police with his volunteers. In the course of his letter to the press announcing this decision, he says: "The troubles caused to the volunteers by the police have become unbearable. As the latter are ready to bring any case against the volunteers, I think it is better to prevent such clashing between the two. The bomb outrages in Bengal have upset the minds of the District officers in the United Provinces. These suspect all those who do not serve Government, and the police in their zeal to show better work pounce upon every stranger and tease him." While it is the duty of the Government to be thankful to our Lala for supplementing its work towards famine relief and to encourage him in his efforts in this direction, we are sorry to note that the Government has not only not appreciated his work, but has also allowed the police to harass the famine volunteers.

"Our rights"

11. The ANDHRAKESARI, of the 7th August, observes:--Even though the views of our correspondent regarding "our rights" are scientific and logical, they cannot be put in practice under the existing circumstances in our country. Even if they are practicable, they entail many difficulties. Under the present circumstances, we can attempt to prevent the spread of foreign articles in our country, but we cannot admit that the policy of resistance should be made so rigorous as to go beyond those limits. Therefore we point out to our correspondent that we must conduct ourselves in such a way as to suit the places, times and circumstances and not otherwise.

A correspondent to the same paper refers to man's natural rights, namely, 1. Appointment to the highest posts in the country; 2. Approval of new laws to be made; 3. Liberty of speech;

4. Freedom of the press; 5. Self-taxation and control over the income and expenditure of the Government; 6. Protection from disgrace consequent on imprisonment without trial and conviction; and observes:--Oh! countrymen! You do not seem to possess even a single right conferred by God on man. If you want to deserve His love by realising the ideals granted by Him, you must all work to acquire these rights. There seems to be only a single lawful course to attain these rights. It is the policy of passive resistance. Herbart Spencer, an eminent authority on politics, said, "Any constitution must be respected so long as it is mindful of individual rights, but if those rights are in the least violated by any constitution, it may be opposed." What is the policy of passive resistance? It is to suffer punishment imposed by the Government for disobedience when anything is done against individual rights by them. It may be suspected whether that policy alone can grant us independence. It can never do so. It serves only as a stepping stone to the temple of independence and as a school for training ourselves to possess it. It is only the observance of the vow of SWADESHI that can remove the commercial bondage. At present, it is the commercial bondage only that brought on political bondage. We must tack on "Boycott" with SWADESHISM. Love for the country is the "seed" of patriotism. Patriotism is the prop for attaining the freedom of the country. Union is the foundation of all. Therefore union must be fostered. Oh, brethren! sons of the Aryans! to obtain the said rights, follow the aforesaid policy of passive resistance.

"Wanted help"

12. Referring to the recent disturbances in Bombay, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 9th August, observes:--Sir George Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, in his interview with the leaders of the people remarked that they had not offered their help which was necessary in the critical time. We saw how peace was restored

thereafter to the whole city by two of them advising the people. From the Governor's request for the help of the popular leaders he seems to admit that the Government are not sufficiently strong to maintain the peace of the country by peaceful measures, though they have a grand fighting army and a strong police force. While requiring the help of the leaders of the people, the Governor forget the responsibilities which the Government owe to the people and their leaders. Can he himself explain why the leaders were not summoned in order to consult them about the arrest and trial of Mr.Tilak, before making grand attempts to save Bombay from impending calamities during his trial? Had the Governor himself been a native or Tilak an Englishman, would Sir George Clarke have allowed the irregularities in the matter of empanelling a special jury and other things?

The boycott day.

13. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 9th August, observes:--On the the 7th August, our Bengal brethren celebrated the anniversary of the boycott day. By adopting the boycott which is associated with passive resistance, we contribute to the improvement of the handicrafts and other trades and afford independent living to the people of our country. The Arms Act cannot prevent us from handling this weapon of boycott. ~~If in India diminish, but~~ If the weapon of boycott be wielded resolutely, not only will the foreign trade in India diminish, but also the Indians will learn the science of economics and will take a forward step in the battlefield of commerce. As the boycott movement develops the knowledge of the Indians will improve. By the rays of this knowledge the darkness of illusion encircling our vision will disappear. The adoption of boycott itself preaches nationalism. From the day on which the knowledge of nationalism has sprouted up, the national life of the Indians has been assured. The highest goal is to know the secret of the national life. It is only when that secret is understood, that a nation will be able to show off themselves. Therefore, oh, Indians! do not forget this boycott movement.

15. The NADEGANNADI, of the 8th August, observes that though the result of Mr.Tilak's petition for permission to appeal is not known, it is to be feared that he will not obtain justice at the hands of the authorities, because they seem to be bent upon keeping him in confinement justly or unjustly. Under any circumstances, the necessity for the growth of mutual confidence between the Government and its subjects cannot for a moment be denied. It must also be admitted that such severe punishment of one of the most popular and esteemed leaders of the people cannot promote that confidence. If Tilak committed an offence, he should have been given a fair tiral. The authorities have, instead, convicted Mr.Tilak according to the verdict of a jury consisting of seven Europeans and two Parsis all of whom were ignorant of the Marathi language. Besides, there have been various irregularities in the trial itself. It is to be hoped that Government will grant his petition and permit him to appeal.

The Tilak case.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

17. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th August, writes:--While the whole country is wailing over the curtailment of the liberty of the Press in British India, the Press has been completely gagged in Mysore, a Native State ruled by a Hindu prince with Hindu ministers! On the day on which the Press law was passed here, there was not even one dissenting voice in the Council! Lord Minto, though avowedly averse to the liberty of the Press in India, has not gone headlong in curtailing it for fear of incurring the displeasure of the British public and the British Parliament. But the Mysore Government need not be afraid of any higher authority and so has done as it liked. Harm will surely ensue from really rash and ill-conducted papers and this is true not only in India but in the whole world. But the policy of taking away the liberty of the Press ~~in the whole world.~~ as a whole, because of the rash tone of a few papers,

The Press law in Mysore.

will work more harm than good. This has been realised by the Western countries and they have therefore given free scope to the Press to have its own say. But this principle is not observed either in British or in the Native States. The Anglo-Indian papers in British India, have already begun to clamour for more stringent Press legislation in British India on the lines of the Mysore Press Act. The Mysore Government has powers enough to bring any seditious paper to book, and we cannot understand why it should have passed such a stringent Act in hot haste. This only shows a hankering after authority and a jealousy of popular rights on the part of the Mysore Government. Besides the Legislative Council which has passed this measure, there is also a Representative Assembly in Mysore which has not been consulted at all in this case. It remains to be seen how the members of this Assembly view this when they meet during the next Dasara. The other Native States are sure to take the cue from Mysore to enact similar Press laws and even if they do not pass them of their own accord, the British Residents in those States will not be quiet. The only conclusion we can come to from all this is that absolute monarchs, whether they be Englishmen or Indians, will never be for increasing the privileges of the people.

The new Press legislation in Mysore.

19. Referring to the new legislation relating to newspapers in Mysore the BHARATHI, of the 7th August, observes that the press would be highly thankful to Government if they were to publish a list showing what kind of articles can be published by newspapers. Otherwise, it sometimes unfortunately happens that in urging the popular cause, the officials are touched to the quick; and with the aid of learned professors, unheard of meanings are given to ordinary words and the fate of the newspaper is then sealed. The owners of the press should then abandon their all and leave the country within seven days.

Referring to the same subject in another paragraph the paper continues:--It did not matter if one had to quit the country if at least the paper could continue to be published and circulated among the people. A house can be searched by the police even when a single copy may be suspected to exist. It has to be proved that the copy found was not meant for publication or even circulation. But it is not possible to escape even that way, because guests sometimes happen to be in the house. The only means to safe existence is to obtain the approval of the authorities for every article before ~~existence-is-to-obtain-the-appro~~ it is published. Else permission to publish the paper might be withdrawn.

Commenting on the new legislation relating the newspapers in Mysore the BHARATHI, of the 10th August, observes:--The new Press law practically binds the press-owners hand and foot and gags their mouth. Such a drastic measure is altogether unwarranted by the political situation in the State. There has not been a single instance of any newspaper being charged with causing disaffection against Government or between different classes of people in the country. The numerous and harrowing press prosecutions in the British territories could effect nothing more than give some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers, perhaps, matter for exultation. But in Mysore there are no Anglo-Indian papers which will rejoice at such prosecutions. The mutual love and confidence between His Highness the Maharaja and the subject people preclude the necessity for any such drastic measure. The authors of the new measure must therefore be some vain and highhanded officials whose actions were criticised by the newspapers. These officials might have been hurt by newspapers strongly criticising the Mines Regulations and exposing their highhanded nature while they themselves sought to justify their administrative policy in articles which they contributed to various newspapers outside the State. The only "offence" the Mysore newspapers might have committed--if offence it might be called--was showing their unswerving loyalty to His Highness' Government and exposing the evil-doings of some

highhanded officials in the interests of the State. If this should be construed as an "offence" the newspaper-owners will be happy to commit such offences and even quit the country to sing the praise of His Highness' Government at least from a distance. Not only does the new law take away the liberty of the Press and check honest criticisms, but it has yet another still strange aspect. A thief, a robber and even a murderer can be declared guilty only after a fair trial in a court of law. But the editor of a newspaper who fights for the ruler, the country and the people he loves, can be summarily deported from his country without trial. It is hoped that His Highness will turn his attention to the extreme severity and rigor of the new law and modify it so as to allow the offenders under it at least a proper trial before they are banished from the State. No true advocates of justice will hesitate to give the accused a fair trial in a properly established court of law.

Referring to the same subject the BHARATHI, of the 11th August, says that another great hardship caused by the new press law in Mysore is that (even) Sub-Inspectors of Police may at any time enter and search any house which is suspected to contain copies of any newspaper to be punished under the new ACT. The paper then appeals to His Highness the Maharaja to consider whether these police searches would not encroach upon the liberty of the whole public and to modify the Act so as to make it just and agreeable alike to the Government and the Subjects.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Mahajana Sabha and the Provincial Conference.

20. While commenting on the decision of the Madras Mahajana Sabha not to hold the Provincial Conference this year, the INDIA, of the 8th August, remarks:--"Evidently the main cause of this decision is a desire to please the authorities. Somehow these authorities now seem to be averse to any kind of public meeting anywhere; otherwise, why should they prohibit public meetings

in every corner of even quiet Madras? But the Provincial Conference will not be conducted in any public place and the authorities have no right to prevent meetings being held inside certain buildings. Then again will the authorities be so insane as to prevent any meeting of this Sabha, seeing that its members only very recently made an uncalled-for proclamation of their loyalty?

21. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 13th August, writes:--

India and the House of Commons.

~~Commons~~ Usually the Indian affairs were not attracting even as much attention in the House of Commons as a nuisance committed in a corner of England. It is only within the last three years that the Parliament has begun to evince an ~~interest in the last three years that the Parliament has begun to evince an~~ interest in such affairs. Hitherto the twelve retired Anglo-Indians in the Indian Office used to lord it over the Indian Secretary and have everything in their own way. But Lord Morley is not the man to be controlled like that, and it is said that the Members of the Council of India are not ~~the~~ able to influence the mind of the present Secretary of State in any way.

23. The NADEGANNADI, of the 8th August, observes that it

Sir Bampfylde Fuller

is understood that the late Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal in an article in an English Periodical has made a libellous attack on Indian women and schoolboys. It is not known what motive he had in writing it. The Government will do well to consider whether such writings will not irritate the people, and lead them to distrust Government officials. If a similar article had been written by a Hindu against the British, the authorities would not have ignored it. It is highly desirable that the Government should put a stop to all such scurrilous writings.

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